



VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE CONCENTRATION OF LORD HALDANE



"There's no sort of use in asking me," said the Footman, "and that for two reasons. First because I'm on the same side as you, and second because I don't intend to do anything."

"Please, then," said Alice, "what am I to do?"

"I shall keep my place," the Footman remarked, "till next year, or may be on and off for years and years."

"But what am I to do?" said Alice.

"Anything you like," said the Footman, and began whistling.

"Oh, there's no use in talking to him," said Alice, desperately, "he's perfectly idiotic."

—"Alice in Wonderland" adapted.

(Lord Haldane, in refusing to meet a deputation of electors, has written that until public opinion becomes clear about a question which has been unduly obscured by militancy, and until a House of Commons can be found which will make a definite pronouncement on woman suffrage, he as a strong supporter of Women's Enfranchisement will continue to concentrate on the attainment of these conditions.)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Three by-elections are taking place this week. West Lothian polls to-day (Friday), Reading to-morrow, and Keighley next Tuesday. In each of these constituencies we are asking the electors to record a vote

against the Government candidate in order to mark their disapproval of the way in which the Government has handled the woman suffrage question.

False to Liberalism

The theory of Liberalism is government by the people; and in one of the leaflets which the Liberal publication department has been circulating broadcast in the constituencies a claim is made that the Liberals have been the means of bringing about all the extensions of the franchise. But to-day it is the Liberal Government which is blocking the enfranchisement of qualified women. Women have asked for the vote. The working men have supported this demand, by resolutions carried by overwhelming majorities at the Trade Union Congress and elsewhere. The House of Commons has supported this demand by carrying the second reading of woman suffrage Bills. But the Government has prevented their passage into law. Therefore the present Government is false to Liberal principles, and Liberal electors can only bring their falsity home to them by voting against their candidates at the polls.

Broken Pledges

Not only have the members of the present Govern-

ment been false to Liberalism, they have also been false to their pledges. In July, 1911, the Government promised to give fair play in 1912 to the "Conciliation" Bill for woman suffrage, and on the strength of this pledge women withdrew their opposition; yet in November, 1911, Mr. Lloyd George announced with glee that Mr. Asquith and he had "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill. Later, when the Electoral Reform Bill was to be introduced, all the members of the Government, including Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Rufus Isaacs, and Sir John Simon, pledged themselves that it should be so drafted as to be capable of amendment to include women; yet, as a matter of fact, it was not so drafted, and when this was discovered no satisfactory substitute for the unredeemed pledge was ever given. How can electors trust their destinies to men who are so shamelessly forsworn?

Treatment of Political Prisoners

The electors are also asked to vote against the Government because of the way they have treated women in prison. From the earliest days, when woman suffragists were imprisoned for purely technical offences, the Government refused to recognize

"THEM THAT ARE BRUISED"

By D. A. Lovell

The tram came into view at last, and I put down my umbrella and turned to my companion to say good-bye. She was but a mere acquaintance, kindly enough in her way I doubt not, but as if struck by a sudden desire to add to the heavy burdens I already carried in the shape of market parcels, she threw out a few encouraging words to weigh down my spirits.

"So glad, dear, so very glad to hear that you have given it up."

"Given it up?" I queried, in unfeigned surprise. "Given what up?"

She put her lips close to my ear as if the very rain-drops must be kept in ignorance, and whispered: "The paper selling in the streets. Exposing yourself in that way, you know!"

The tram was upon me. I had stepped from the kerb-stone and was jerking my head vigorously to attract the driver's attention, but on hearing this extraordinary statement I turned with a re-assuring smile.

"But I haven't. Oh, dear, no. Whatever made you think that? I wouldn't give it up for anything."

"Now then, miss, if you're going," growled the impatient guard, and I was bundled, parcels, umbrella, and all, on to the stepboard and away. The tram was nearly full, but I found a seat and arranged my parcels on my lap and my thoughts in my head.

"Exposing yourself like that." Did people really think, then, that I had other motives for street-selling than the sale of papers? For one brief moment a hot flush mounted to my temples, then it was gone. And what if they did? What if they did? People could think what they liked, and if their minds were set on thinking evil that was no concern of mine. The tram pulled up with a jerk and more people got in. I found myself tightly wedged between a stout woman and a little boy.

"Can't you 'old your umbrella out o' my way?" said the woman to me, breathing hard. "That's the second time as it's gone agin my dress, wet and all."

"I am very sorry," I said, politely, "but there isn't much room."

"Well, look out where you're 'olding it, then," she retorted.

My spirits were descending fast. I had had a full day and was tired.

"Oak Road!" called the guard.

I rose hurriedly and made the best of my way between the "strap-hangers" to the door, but before I reached it the tram was off again.

"I wanted to get out at Oak Road," I said. "Why didn't you wait?"

"Can't keep the tram all day," the man replied curtly. "I called it loud enough."

The rain had come on heavily; my parcels were heavy; and somehow or other my heart was very heavy, too. Things seemed to be going all wrong. The umbrella caught in my veil and tore it.

My sister met me in the hall as I was unloading myself generally, and handed me a note. I waited before reading it to divest myself of my wet shoes, and then sat down by the fire and broke the seal. It was from our Branch Secretary and contained a hasty but emphatic request that I should fill a regular seller's pitch that evening. "The pitch is under cover, so do not stay away for the rain," ran the postscript.

For the first time since throwing in my lot with the gutter-merchants, I sighed. A real, heavy sigh. I did not want to sell; I did not want to subject myself to any more abuse; I did not want to leave the warm fire. I began to feel drowsy. The clock chimed the hour and I jumped up, startled.

"Arise, ye daughters!" I said to myself, yawning. "Get on your coat and boots and be gone."

The rain had turned to a heavy, clinging fog; the wind was raw and cutting. I got my papers from a newsagent near the appointed pitch, and set off to walk the remaining distance, feeling somewhat heroic. As I passed beneath an archway the sound of a voice reading aloud attracted my attention. A blind man was sitting on a camp-stool with his back to the wall, his thin fingers travelling fast across the raised letter-

ing of a large Bible, his sightless eyes fixed in one long, pitiful stare before him.

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," he read, "because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

I drew a coin from my pocket and slipped it into the tin box which hung from the man's neck. "To set at liberty them that are bruised." I caught the papers more tightly to my side, and the wind seemed less cold and the fog less heavy as I came to my journey's end.

The pitch was a crowded one, especially at that particular hour, and I had never sold in the evening before. I took up my station in the gutter, and held the papers high, trying not to look nervous. I had not been standing long before I became aware of a curious figure watching me from a little distance up the path. It peered at me between the passing crowds, and edged nearer. It was, I thought, a woman, a young woman perhaps, but so disgracefully ragged and unkempt that I tried to keep my eyes turned away, and yet there was something strangely magnetic in the white face and great dark eyes. At length, by slow movements and stealthy glances, like a wild animal, shy of some extraordinary spectacle, the figure drew near, and finally approached me. Even then it did not speak, but pointed with a filthy finger at the picture on the paper I held foremost.

"I'll 'ave yun," came the voice at last, and from some hidden depth of holes and rags a penny was produced and handed to me.

"You baint t' one as were 'ere afore!" questioned the woman, looking at me intently. "Wur be 'er?"

I explained as clearly as possible that the regular seller had been unable to come. There was a pause while the woman seemed to reflect. Then she suddenly raised her eyes to mine.

"You know 'er, then?"

"Just a little," I replied. Another pause.

"She wur along o' me in Walton, she wur."

"In Walton Gaol?" I exclaimed, with interest. "I did not know that; was it long ago?"

She ignored my question and sniffed violently.

"'Er got to know me along o' servin' time there," she said. "I wur doin' noine month—for thievin'—cum out four weeks back. She wur doin' one, she wur, and she says to me, 'Along o' you comin' out,' she says, 'I'll be awaitin' on ye.' When my nine month wur oop, I gets out along o' t' rest, 'arly in t' mornin', and outside o' gate she wur, awaitin' on me, an' she never leave sight o' me sin'."

Then came a long pause while the dark eyes travelled up the street and back again.

"You knew 'er, ye said?" she asked again.

"A little; I have met her once or twice."

"I'd die for 'er; I would that, any day."

The corner of the dirty shawl was raised suddenly to the white cheek, and I instinctively looked away.

"If it 'adn't bin along of 'er," the voice went on, "I'd ha' bin where I wur afore I went in. If t' 'adn't bin along of 'er a-talkin' to me same day when I cummed out, I'd ha' bin back afore now. It's 'ard-keepin' straight when ye can't get enough t' eat—it's 'ard, that is; an' folks don't think as 'ow there be them as don't care wot they does to 'arn honest if they could, but they can't. That there penny as I give you I picked up down a grid—straight—an' I ses to mesel', 'I'll do summat for 'er as done summat for me.' Maybe ye'll tell 'er that, cum yer sees 'er!" I promised. "She be gone to-day, I reckon, to find me a job," she continued. "She said as 'ow she 'ad some thought o' summat as I could do."

All at once the shawl was thrown back, and two hands clutched my arm convulsively, while a voice, broken with sobs, exclaimed: "God bless yer; all the lot on yer, wot does this for the likes o' us." And she was gone.

"To set at liberty them that are bruised."

A new light had dawned in my heart. For me the fog was lifting.

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THE FEELING IN THE COUNTRY

"Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear."—Lord Macaulay in the House of Commons, 1833.

LORD HALDANE REFUSES TO RECEIVE MIDLOTHIAN LIBERALS

The following letter has been addressed by Lord Haldane to the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage:—

Dear Sir,—I have your letter of the 1st, asking me to receive a deputation on the subject of the procedure in regard to Women's Suffrage in Parliament, on the occasion of my approaching visit to Edinburgh.

Although that visit is only to be of a few hours' duration, I would not let this difficulty stand in the way if I could see any useful purpose to be served by receiving the deputation.

But my views have been frequently and clearly expressed on the general principle, and I have nothing either to add or to subtract. As to the question of procedure, no more can be said than was said by Sir Edward Grey at Berwick recently. To what he laid down there I refer you, for I am in entire agreement with it.

Until public opinion becomes clear about a question which has been unduly obscured by militancy, and until a House of Commons can be found which will make a definite pronouncement for Women's Suffrage, you cannot hope to get further.

It is therefore on the attainment of these conditions that those who, like myself, are strong supporters of the extension of the franchise to women, are concentrating.—Yours faithfully,

HALDANE.

Cloan, Auchterarder, Perthshire.
November 2, 1913.

THE FEDERATION'S REPLY TO LORD HALDANE

The following reply was sent to Lord Haldane's letter:—

Dear Sir,—We are obliged by your letter, which we consider highly unsatisfactory. We observe that you refer us to Sir Edward Grey, as the Prime Minister referred to Lord Lytton in 1911. We have every respect for the Foreign Minister; but consider that his should not be the last word upon the cause which is animating the whole world.

Genuine Liberals are exasperated at this perpetual burking of a Liberal measure which has become inevitable, and we hold that by the dishonourable engineering of the question, the Government are entirely responsible for the militancy behind which they are now shielding themselves. We are a Constitutional group of men, but we beg respectfully to inform you that we shall withdraw our support from a Party which has first betrayed women, then coerced them as common criminals, and finally placed upon the Statute Book the infamous Cat and Mouse Act, which has stained the honour of the country.—Yours obediently,

ALEX. ORR (Hon. Treasurer).
N. BROWN (Hon. Secretary).

THE ORIGINAL REQUEST

The original request from the Midlothian electors was contained in a letter sent by the Northern Men's Federation to Lord Haldane on November 1, and was expressed very firmly.

"As the Prime Minister," said the writers, "will not receive a Scottish deputation on this subject, they beg at least that some powerful Minister may be found to give them a satisfactory answer, whereby they may gather their position as supporters of Liberalism." They also mentioned that, although the constituencies are already being "nursed" for the coming General Election, "no question of Women's Suffrage is yet upon the Liberal programme."

Not Prepared to Wait

In the following forcible terms the letter then proceeded to state the position of the writers of the letter:—

"The Midlothian Liberal members of the Federation are anxious to see this question settled during the lifetime of the present Parliament, holding as they do the opinion that it is a Liberal measure which Liberal statesmen should have the honour of presenting to the country. They are not prepared to wait for the advent of a Tory Government to develop a real democracy, bursting into life. They desire that the Government they have voted into office shall at least respect the 'sovereignty' of their supporters. Neither are they prepared to wait for a General Election and have their votes coerced from them on this question, which can and should be settled now."

reignty" of their supporters. Neither are they prepared to wait for a General Election and have their votes coerced from them on this question, which can and should be settled now."

"WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN THE KING'S SPEECH, 1914"

The Support of Eminent Men and Women

The above is the mandate that the Northern Men's Federation means to give the Government before the re-assembling of Parliament next February. On Friday, November 14, a mass meeting will be held in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, at which Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, Bailie Alston, and others will speak; and Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett, founder of the Federation, has received some fine messages of support from several well-known men and women.

From Lord Brassey

For instance, Lord Brassey writes:—"My experiences in Australia have long ago convinced me that votes should be given to women. The suffrage has been granted now for many years in Australia and the policy has never been questioned."

The Earl of Selborne says:—"I wish the Organisation all success in its constitutional work for the great cause in which we are engaged."

"The Cause is Gaining Daily"

From Lord Robert Cecil, in the course of a message expressing satisfaction that the electors are being roused, comes the interesting opinion:—"Indeed, my strong impression is that the cause is gaining daily in spite of all obstacles."

Lord Willoughby de Broke expresses the conviction that the question "will have to be dealt with in the near future by one political party or the other," and adds: "Women's Suffrage contains nothing that does not consort with Tory principles."

Among social reformers who have written to Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett the Bishop of Kensington says the cause "is so inherently righteous that it must win in the end"; and Mr. Sidney Webb declares that "The Woman's Cause is now the most insistent of all." Mr. George Lansbury and Mr. Laurence Housman also send rousing messages.

Two Writers

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, regretting she cannot attend the meeting on the 14th, says:—"It would have been a great pleasure to me as a Scotswoman to have given even one word of encouragement to those honest, straightforward countrymen of mine who are showing the world once more that Scotsmen are the best pioneers in the universe, pioneers who are not afraid of difficulties and dangers, who will risk running their hard heads against a stone wall if they know that the promised land lies behind it. And the recognition of the right of woman to a common humanity with man opens the door to Paradise."

Perhaps the most characteristic message of all is from the pen of Mr. Israel Zangwill. "Unless we work hard," he says, "even the next General Election will be run on Home Rule or the Land Question, with Suffrage side-tracked. Steps must immediately be taken to get one or other of the parties to place it on its programme. I put all my hopes on the North. Even in Europe it is the Northern countries that have the Suffrage. Had the North risen earlier, Women's Suffrage would not have become a burning question."

THE ELECTORS' CONVENTION

The Convention of electors from the North, which was to have been held in London on December 6, has been postponed owing to the enormous pressure of work entailed in organising the Northern cities.

THE DEPUTATION TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE

At a meeting of the F.C.S.U., held in the Caxton Hall last Monday, the following resolution was carried:—

"This meeting of the London Branch of the Forward Oynio Suffrage Union expresses its profound sense of disapproval

that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech to a deputation of the N.U.W.S.S. at Swindon on October 23 last, should have shown no trace of regret for the bargaining of members of the Cabinet with the Irish Party, for the broken pledge of the Prime Minister, nor for his own action in 'torpedoing' the Conciliation Bill during an acknowledged time of truce, and should instead have tried to throw the blame for the rejection

of a Woman's Suffrage Bill by the House of Commons upon the shoulders of those whom the Government has driven to exasperation by its treachery.

"Further, the members of the F.C.S.U. repudiate Mr. Lloyd George's advice, and will neither seek nor accept any pledges; nor will they go on pilgrimages. They adhere to their policy of relentless war and opposition towards the whole Coalition Government."

CABINET MINISTERS SILENCED

Anti-Government Feeling Spreading—Constituents will not Listen to Political Platitudes

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P., AT POPLAR

At Poplar Town Hall, on October 29, the President of the Board of Trade met with so hostile a reception at the hands of his own constituents that after more than half-an-hour of continuous uproar, the meeting had to be declared at an end.

Directly Mr. Buxton appeared on the platform, the whole audience began singing the "Marseillaise." Three cheers were given for James Larkin, and groans for Sir Edward Carson. As soon as Mr. Buxton began to speak there were cries of "Cheers for Sylvia Pankhurst!" "Release Larkin!" "Why don't you arrest Sir Edward Carson?" When both Mr. Buxton and the chairman appealed for order in the name of free speech, the audience shouted: "We won't allow free speech while Larkin is in prison."

The Treatment of Suffragist Prisoners

Above the din could be heard the words, "You have used the bludgeon on women!" and "Give him a taste of forcible feeding!" Interruptions were also made on the subject of the load-line, but the predominating element in the audience confined itself to indignant remarks about forcible feeding and the Government's prosecutions for sedition. "What about the women you are murdering?" was a remark that was heard again and again, sometimes in a man's, sometimes in a woman's voice.

Finally, after the Chairman had been obliged to declare the meeting closed, numbers of men made their way to the platform, asking questions as they went. The *Daily Herald* states that they expressed themselves perfectly willing to listen if Mr. Buxton would sign a petition asking that all proceedings against Sylvia Pankhurst should cease, and would also pledge himself to do all in his power to get Mr. Larkin released.

In Spite of all Precautions

The indignation shown was all the more striking since the utmost precautions had been taken to ensure a peaceable meeting. Only women personally known to the organisers of the meeting were admitted, and these were shepherded in a little pen all to themselves in the gallery. Tickets were non-transferable, and were issued only to members of the Liberal Association. Some forty plain-clothes officials were also on duty in the hall. In spite of these precautions, according to a statement issued to the Press after the meeting by Mr. Buxton, it was alleged that the interrupters "are all Lansbury's Bow and Bromley men," and "this is all one with the row over Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's arrest the other day when she was captured."

Mr. Buxton has to Apologise

On the following day, Mr. Lansbury's solicitors made a public denial in the Press of this allegation on behalf of their client, and Mr. Buxton, on receipt of a similar communication, at once wrote as follows in reply:—

"I am in receipt of your letter. The statement to which you refer was made hastily, and I freely admit that I should not have brought in Mr. Lansbury's name. I need not say that I fully accept Mr. Lansbury's disclaimer, and, without qualification, withdraw the statement, which was not intended to reflect upon Mr. Lansbury personally. You can, of course, make any use you like of this letter."

The "Daily Herald's" Comment

The *Daily Herald* commented as follows: "We are informed by a Liberal newspaper that at Mr. Buxton's next meeting in Poplar 'care will be taken to see that none but his own constituents are admitted.' But, surely, this is only a half-

and-half way of conducting a public political meeting. Why not confine it to the Liberal Press reporters and sufficient C.I.D. detectives to keep democracy at bay? And, when one comes to think of it, why go through the farce of public meetings at all?"

MR. MASTERMAN, M.P., AT WATFORD

At Watford, on Thursday in last week, when Mr. Masterman, M.P., Financial Secretary to the Treasury, tried to address the Liberals of West Herts, scenes of uproar were occasioned by the violence of the stewards, who rushed to eject every man or woman who endeavoured to heckle the speaker on the subject of Woman Suffrage and the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners. The greatest brutality was shown by the stewards, so much so, indeed, that the Chairman was forced to intervene with a suggestion that those ejected should be treated with more care. This had little effect, however, for, as the last man ejected himself writes to us, he was very nearly throttled by the time they had done with him.

As specimens of the interjections that roused the savage fury of the Liberal stewards, we may give the following:—

From a woman: "You are women torturers!" Prompt ejection.

From a man: "How have you treated women?" Rushed out by a posse of excited Liberals. And so on, and so on.

"Later On, My Friend"

How different was the treatment, however, that was accorded to those who interjected political remarks on other subjects! When a Unionist voice cried: "Why don't the Government go to the country?" and the audience from habit yelled, "Chuck him out!" the stewards did nothing of the sort, and Mr. Masterman said, benevolently, "No, no, let him alone!"

"Why don't you answer my question?" demanded the protected one.

"Later on, my friend," said the speaker, conciliatingly.

Apparently, it is only the word "woman" that no Liberal Minister or steward can hear without a shudder, followed by an attack of ungovernable hysteria.

MR. MCKINNON WOOD AT GLASGOW

Suffragists were again present when Mr. McKinnon Wood, Secretary for Scotland, endeavoured to address a mass temperance meeting in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, last Monday. The proceedings were perfectly peaceful until Mr. McKinnon Wood rose to speak, when a man seated near him jumped up and made some remark which was drowned in the uproar which immediately arose. Apparently, he must have mentioned the word "woman," for he was ejected without ceremony.

The Secretary for Scotland made another attempt to speak. Rather hopefully—or was it ironically?—he was just saying that his reception had exceeded his merits when a woman seated in the gallery just over the platform leaned forward and reminded him of the Government's treatment of women, a Liberal duty that was at once resented by the Liberal stewards, who put her out of the meeting for it.

Recalling the Principles of Liberalism

Another woman, some twenty yards away, made a similar attempt to recall the principles of Liberalism as soon as the speaker said his opening sentence for the third time. Mr. McKinnon Wood plaintively told the meeting that he had always voted for Woman Suffrage, while the woman who had merely asked him to put his principles into practice was being ejected; but no one seemed to see the irony of this. Some half-dozen women were ejected altogether in the course of his remarks for similar political interjections. How strange it will all seem fifty years hence!

THE HASTINGS "POGROM"

What is a Riot?—A Test Case of Importance to Suffragists

In view of what the *Manchester Guardian* described last week as "The Bristol Pogrom," when the W.S.P.U. shop in that town was wrecked by students, none of whom were arrested, a case now proceeding at Hastings has a great significance for suffragists of all shades of opinion. It is a sequel to the riotous behaviour of a crowd which assembled on May 20 last outside the club of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in Havelock Road, Hastings, where a lecture was being given by Mrs. Strickland. The action was brought at a special sitting of the Hastings County Court, last Monday week, before his Honour Judge Mackarness, by Miss A. K. Rance, Madame Oosterveen, and Mrs. Homer-Pryce, who sought to recover damages from the Corporation for injuries done by the mob to the premises of Green's Hotel, which the plaintiffs had been obliged to make good to the proprietor in consideration of their having taken refuge there from the violence of the crowd.

Mr. F. W. Morgan, solicitor, of Hastings, represented the plaintiffs, and Mr. C. F. Baker, barrister, instructed by the Assistant Town Clerk, defended.

MR. MORGAN'S SPEECH

Mr. Morgan described how the plaintiffs with a number of other Suffragists, were holding a perfectly peaceable meeting in their Club when a large crowd assembled outside, and how, on the appearance of members of the audience in the street at the end of the meeting, they were set upon and considerable violence was done to them. One was struck on the head and pummelled in the back, another had her hat torn off, and it was tossed about by the crowd; they were hustled so badly that in one case at least a woman had her clothing nearly torn from her. The three plaintiffs were surrounded outside Green's Hotel by a crowd of nearly 200 people; one of them was struck over the head by a man's fist, another was hustled so that the contents of her purse fell on the ground, and were scrambled for. They managed to take refuge in the hotel, and the crowd (having already broken windows at the Club) now proceeded to throw stones and break the windows of the hotel. The proprietor accordingly made an agreement with the ladies, which was signed by two of them, in which they promised to pay for the damage done to the hotel in consideration of his protection. This amounted to £12 5s., and the plaintiffs, having paid this sum, now sought to recover it from the Corporation under the Riot Damages Act, 1886, which permitted such compensation to be paid out of the police rate where the damage had been committed by persons "riotously or tumultuously assembled."

A subsection of the Act provided also for the compensation of persons who had paid another person in respect of damage.

What is a Riot?

Mr. Morgan contended that a riot was proved by the fact that the crowd came rushing in a body to Havelock Road, and they uttered such cries as "Down with the Suffragettes!" "We'll rout them out!" "Remember Levetleigh!" (a house in the neighbourhood which had been recently burnt down, the suspicion for the deed having fallen on Suffragists). At the hotel the crowd was so large at 11.30 that the police were unable to clear the road, and the landlord complained that he thought his premises would be wrecked, and he asked the plaintiffs to leave the hotel. That was why the agreement was drawn up. One of the policemen even suggested that Miss Rance should disguise herself in order to get away.

With regard to that part of the crowd which was not actually violent, it was one of the most disgraceful features of the case that hardly any stretched out a hand to help the quiet, respectable ladies who had been holding, in their own club, behind closed doors, a perfectly legitimate meeting.

THE EVIDENCE

Two of the plaintiffs, Miss Rance and Madame Oosterveen, then gave evidence corroborating what Mr. Morgan had said, and adding details as to the way they had been attacked by the crowd. Mr. Thomas John Wade, licensee of Green's Hotel, talked of the "hilarity" of the crowd, and described it as "a good-humoured holiday

crowd." Reminded by the Judge that he had said he feared the premises would be wrecked, he said the crowd in front was not out of the control of the police. The stones came from another direction.

What is "Protection?"

Cross-examined by Mr. Baker, witness made the strange statement that the "protection" alluded to in the agreement was the accommodation at the hotel.

By Mr. Morgan: He could not say that protection against disorderly crowds outside was part of the ordinary accommodation of the house.

By His Honour: Witness told the ladies that it looked like having every window in his place broken.

His Honour: And did you ask them to go?—Yes.

CASE FOR THE DEFENCE

Picturesque Police Evidence

The defence was that there was no riot and no consideration for the agreement. The police evidence, some of which was astonishing in view of the plaintiff's statements, bore this out, though the way the women were treated was practically admitted by them. The Judge himself questioned the police witnesses on several points, a gleam of justice that has been strangely absent from the Bench at many recent trials in connection with the Suffrage movement.

What was that Crowd Like?

Inspector Arthur Barnes described the crowd as "a very respectable, quiet crowd" (it had just been called by a woman tenant of a house in Havelock Road as "a most uproarious and disgusting crowd"), but admitted to the Judge that he brought up police reserves to deal with it "in case anything happened." The damage, he thought, might have been done by one person.

His Honour commented that unless the people there were much more accurate than usual there must have been a considerable number of stones thrown when there were seven windows broken!

Witness further admitted that no one had been brought to book for the throwing, nor did the public assist the police. The police would have had to use violence to clear the street.

Mr. Morgan: You tried to catch these fellows and failed, and you realised that you could not save the house without getting rid of the women. Is that so?—Well, yes.

"Frolicsome and Respectable"

The next police witness, Superintendent John Kenward, said it was "an orderly crowd, frolicsome and chiefly respectable people." There was a certain amount of booing. He did not see any windows broken, but heard the cracking. He frequently heard cries of "Remember Levetleigh!" and "Let's see where they go!" in the crowd.

His Honour: Was there any feeling in regard to Levetleigh?

Witness: A very strong feeling all over the borough.

His Honour: Did you really think, in the face of that, that it was a harmless frolicsome crowd?

Witness replied that he did not think the crowd would do any harm.

Inspector Green, next called, had "not known a much quieter crowd in Hastings."

Inspector Bradford improved on this (if that were possible) by saying in answer to His Honour that he had not attempted to clear the crowd "because it was quite orderly."

Mr. Morgan remarked that to deal with this lamb-like crowd there appeared to be one police officer to 124 people.

The Mayor's Evidence

Another constable and an independent witness having described the crowd as "a holiday crowd" and "quite quiet," the Mayor went into the witness-box and testified to its being "good-tempered and not particularly noisy." He saw no one molested, but admitted seeing a lady's hat kicked along and a window broken. In answer to the Judge, he said he was very much on the fringe of the crowd, but he thought he could judge of its general tone.

Other witnesses having also assured the Court of the peaceful and merry aspect of the crowd for which the whole available police force of Hastings had been called out, Mr. Baker then made a speech for the defence.

SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE

He submitted with regard to the police evidence that as to the case itself the police officers with great fairness said that, although not witnesses of the alleged occurrences, they could not deny them. With regard to the disturbance in Havelock Street, there was no evidence to prove that what was done was done by common purpose, and that it was not spontaneous.

His Honour said the crowd appeared to have gone in a body from the square (where it first assembled, under the impression that the militant Suffragists were to hold a meeting there).

Mr. Baker said that he would only admit that the common purpose was that of attending a meeting. As to "Remember Levetleigh!" all the witnesses appeared to be dealing with the same moment of time, and it might be merely an interruption intended to warn against any fresh outrage if there was not a watch kept. The crux was the damage at the hotel. The evidence was that every act of damage was a separate one, and there were intervals between. The whole of the damage was on the north side. Further, he submitted that plaintiffs had no right of action under Sub-section 2 of the Riot Act, especially in regard to a voluntary payment, and that the agreement was void for want of consideration. The landlord was under liability as an innkeeper to receive them, so long as he had accommodation.

Travellers or Guests?

A discussion then arose as to whether the plaintiffs came under the status of travellers or guests when they entered the hotel, also whether at the time of the signing of the agreement there was no consideration because at that time the relation of landlord and guest had been established.

Mr. Morgan said that the question of adequacy of consideration was immaterial so long as there was consideration. The consideration was not the accommodation but the "protection" of the hotel. That was beyond the legal obligation of the landlord. The ladies had no money with them, and the landlord could have demanded cash down. The landlord was also incurring danger to his premises. It was a case of "French leave." They saw the

door open and came in. If the landlord had taken them by the shoulders and put them out the world would say he was a brute. There was ample evidence of consideration for the agreement.

That Respectable Crowd!

He further submitted that there were, at any rate, some persons "riotously and tumultuously assembled." It was significant of the common purpose of the crowd that they were in the neighbourhood of the Club over a considerable space of time.

It was significant, he continued, that, as the police superintendent had said, "respectable" persons (he, the solicitor, would have used a different adjective) had counselled him to take away his unnecessary police, and "leave it to them and it would soon be over." It would indeed soon have been over—over dead bodies.

There was the attack on the schoolmistress, who was struck on the head, over the back, and her hat torn off. There was the attempt to pull off the clothing of some unknown woman, which showed that among some of the crowd, described by the defence as "quiet and respectable," the worst passions had been aroused. There was the brutal blow given over the head to Madame Oosterveen and the throwing down by the other men of Mrs. Pryce, her purse falling in the road, this "quiet and good-humoured crowd" going for the money whilst she escaped into the hotel hatless.

All these things, he submitted, had been proved by the plaintiffs, and were not contradicted by the defence.

Judgment Deferred

There was considerable applause in Court when Mr. Morgan finished speaking.

Judge Mackarness then announced that he would give judgment at the next County Court (to be held November 21).

THE BRISTOL POGROM

We are glad to hear that the sub-committee of the Bristol Watch Committee met last Friday, and heard evidence with regard to the wrecking of the W.S.P.U. shop by Bristol students, described in last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. A report was prepared and was presented with a recommendation on Wednesday, after we went to press, to the full Committee.

IMPORTANT TOWN'S MEETING AT NEWCASTLE

Large Majority Vote for Suffrage

A good deal of significance attaches to the meeting held in Newcastle Town Hall on Thursday in last week, at which a Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority. It was a town's meeting, that is to say, it was called in accordance with a requisition, signed by upwards of 800 citizens of all classes, and presented at a meeting of the City Council on October 1 by a deputation of women.

Government Measure Demanded

The Mayor presided, supported by the Town Clerk, several Aldermen and Councillors, and other citizens, both men and women. The following resolution was proposed by Dr. Ethel Williams:—

"That this meeting called by the Lord Mayor of Newcastle at the request of the City Council, in response to a large and influential memorial from ratepayers in the city, urges the Government to bring in a measure dealing with the enfranchisement of women."

She made a rousing speech, in the course of which she made a reference to militancy, saying that as a doctor she considered the cause of the unrest and not its symptoms ought to be dealt with. Councillor J. W. Locke seconded, and then an Anti-Suffrage amendment was moved by Mr. Mundahl, who, while advancing the usual arguments against the woman's vote, made the admission that he regarded the question as of more importance than Home Rule and Free Trade combined, and if there were a general "female desire for the vote, no power on earth could stop it."

He underwent a good deal of interruption, and the proceedings altogether seem to have been characterised by a considerable amount of heckling on both sides.

When the amendment was put, it was declared lost by a majority of about three to two, and the resolution was then put and carried, it was said, by a majority of about three to one.

A Local Comment

The *North Mail* says that, while it would

be unwise to attach too much importance to the Newcastle meeting, there are one or two features of it that call for notice:—

"In point of numbers it was, in the circumstances, a remarkably large meeting, and it was clearly made up of all sorts of citizens. Moreover, though there were several eloquent women speakers on the platform, not a single one of them was opposed to the claim of their sex to political equality. The opposition oratory came from male speakers, which fact seems a sufficient answer to the assertion that the majority of women not only do not want votes, but are strongly opposed to the Suffragist demands. Then there is the further fact that this, the first town's meeting that has been held on the question, decided by a very large majority in favour of votes for women."

THE SOLIDARITY OF WOMEN

In view of the great and increasing desirability for solidarity among woman suffragists of all kind, however divided they may be as to tactical details, the text of a resolution unanimously approved at the recent International Syndicalist Congress held in London may interest our readers:—

"The undersigned delegates of a union of women of Alayor, Minorca, called 'Union y Solidaridad,' and considered a revolutionary and educative union, asks the Congress to make the following declaration:—

"That it regards with sympathy all revolutionary movements that tend to secure for women civil and economic rights equally with men, without distinction of class, race, or nationality."

(Signed) Rodriguez Romero (for the Sociedad y Solidaridad de Alayor, Minorca); P. Vallina (for the Ateneo Sindicalista de Barcelona); Jose Suarez Duque (for the Societades Obreras de la Coruna); Jose Negre (for the Societades Obreras de Catalunya); Antonio Barnado (for the Federacion Obrera de la Argentina).

BOOKS ABOUT WOMEN

"THE TRUTH ABOUT WOMAN"*

It is characteristic of the militant Suffrage Movement that it has always steered clear of Feminism. It wages its battle not as for a sex, but as a fight for humanity, and perhaps that is why some of us do not feel particularly drawn to that large class of books that treat of "Woman" as if she were a creature to be studied, classified, and "improved" from an external standpoint. To tell the whole truth about woman in one volume would be as great an achievement as to tell the whole truth about man, and we admire the courage of C. Gascoigne Hartley in facing such a colossal adventure.

The author's thesis seems to be that those who are working for the emancipation of women will never get on to the right line until they take as their guiding principle the biological fact that the main stream of racial life flows through the mother, until they realize that for women the pursuit of individual ends is futility, and that their salvation lies in their "racial responsibility." Starting with the question—

Is this difference we have found between the sexes a natural, inborn quality of woman; whether it be physical or psychical, that must be regarded as a right and unalterable part of her woman character, or is it an acquired, and therefore changeable, modification that has been superimposed upon her through the artificial sexual, social, and economic circumstances of her environment?

—she takes us through the biological evolution of the sexes, from the lowest organisms upwards, through the changing social status of women from the earliest historical times, on to the "present aspects of the woman problem." Of these sections, by far the most interesting and valuable are the first two. The author has read very widely for the scientific part of her work, and there is always unflinching interest in considering the life-stories and courtships of some insects and animals, and particularly of birds. From the biological importance of the primary female organism from which the male element developed, from the importance of the female and her superiority to the male in many stages of animal life, from the power and position of women during the "Mother Age," the writer deduces that the inferior position of women from later historical times down to our own day is due to environment and not to anything inherent in sex; that many of her qualities commonly regarded as primary are really secondary, and that given freedom to develop in her own way, there is no limit to the possibilities of her future.

It is when we come to the modern part, to the discussion of the position of women to-day, and to the presentment of the author's conclusions that we are disappointed. The final chapter is disturbingly vague. It seems as if this long book full of so much intellect and labour ought to have led up to something more than a restatement of the claims of motherhood actual or potential. Not that we would underestimate in any way the claims of that ideal. The majority of women always will be and desire to be mothers. But one does not know why so much more glory should be ascribed to motherhood than to fatherhood; nor why it should be extolled as if it were a virtue. The author thinks that motherhood will be transformed; that modern women have lost sense of the power of love; that sexual passion has for generations been drilled out of them. She wants them to be awakened anew to the power of passion. That is a useful and interesting view, but it may be pressed too far. There is a danger of placing too much emphasis on the physical side of woman's existence. And here we have some serious points of difference with our author. Life has room for many ideals of character and action; she would seem to restrict woman to only one. The ascetic ideal is one which the world cannot afford to lose, and which is necessary to certain temperaments. Religion is not, as she seems to think, a mere substitute for sexual passion. Her attitude to religion, illustrated as it is by a very trivial anecdote, is indeed curious. I have not space here to go into this point or into her complete misunderstanding of the militant Suffrage Movement. I am inclined to think that she does not realise how far women have already progressed towards spiritual freedom. Nor do I find it easy to understand her attitude towards prostitution. I quote her words:—

Want is not the incentive to the traffic of sex in the case of the dancer or chorus-girl in regular employment, of the forewoman of a factory or shop, who earns regular wages.

Could a statement much more careless be made! Again she says:—

I am inclined to accept the estimate of Lippert that the principal motives to prostitution are "idleness, frivolity, and the love of finery."

This last is, I believe, a far more frequent and stronger factor than actual want.

And what is the meaning of her saying, "These women . . . must be re-admitted into the social life of our homes and the State"? This whole chapter reads very strangely.

* "The Truth About Woman." By C. Gascoigne Hartley (Mrs. Walter M. Gallichan). (London: Eyre & Nason, 7s. 6d.)

Probably if, in a later edition, the author were to amplify her modern section, we might find it as interesting as the earlier parts. As it stands it is sketchy; but we must thank her for giving us, on the whole, a book that is full of ideas and suggestions as well as information.

J. E. M.

"MINDS IN DISTRESS"†

This is quite a remarkable book, with its very original collection of ideas on that very subtle and illusive part of our make-up which we call the mind. The author, as the title indicates, deals with the mind in its healthy and unhealthy state, and particularly in those conditions known to us by the names of hysteria and neurasthenia. Whether from the medical standpoint the writer's ideas are worthy of acceptance we cannot, of course, judge, but from the suffragist's point of view the book is full of interest. In his preface the writer lays down very clearly that in using the definitions "masculine" and "feminine" types of mind, he does not necessarily mean "male" and "female," as these two types are by no means solely dependent on sex. The types as such are distinct enough, but the majority of men and women are made up of a combination of both. This is, of course, precisely what the suffrage speaker is more or less always trying to convey, and now we have an accredited man of science telling us, not only theoretically, but from the results of practical tests and observation, that this is a simple fact. Then why in Heaven's name all this pother about granting women a vote? In weighing up the two types, Dr. Bridger comes to the conclusion that the feminine type is the higher of the two—in fact, "the very highest attainable type of mental development," while the purely masculine is oftentimes "little higher than the brute." One wonders, therefore, why the author says that by conviction he is an anti-suffragist, unless perhaps he thinks too many women are of the masculine type of mind? Interesting and original as it is, the intense sanity of this book makes it doubly welcome. It is regrettable, however, that the author is not so gifted in literary expression as in originality of ideas, the very awkward and long sentences in which these ideas are couched often making their meaning difficult to grasp.

K. D. S.

"THE VOCATION OF WOMAN"‡

Suffragists who wish to familiarise themselves with the point of view of the feminist who is not a suffragist will find it set out in many chapters under the somewhat pretentious title of "The Vocation of Woman," in Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun's book just published. It is the point of view encouraged by Anti-Suffragists of the type who write leading articles on the woman's movement in the "Times," and who, while repudiating the earlier doctrines of the "Anti," which were based on the alleged inferiority of woman, are at great pains to prove that Nature has made her unfit for the possession of political power. In her preface, Mrs. Colquhoun at once reveals her failure to grasp the Suffragist's outlook by the naïve remark—"It is evident to women who know their own sex that the demand for the parliamentary franchise is symptomatic of a far deeper and more fundamental discontent than can be met by the mere granting of votes for women." But even while inadvertently agreeing with the suffragist that the vote is the symbol of something much wider than political freedom, the writer narrows the whole question of the unrest among women to the contention that (in her own words)—

Woman was obviously intended by nature to become a mother; modern social requirements make it obligatory that she should be legally married before doing so; there are not enough husbands to go round. What do you propose to do with the women who are left over?

If readers are not repelled by this contention, and by the rather flippant, jarring note in her manner of discussing it, they will be able to follow Mrs. Colquhoun's reasoning through the thirteen chapters of "The Vocation of Woman."

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Hat Shop." By Mrs. C. S. Peel. (London: John Lane. Price 8s.)

"The Vocation of Woman." By Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. (London: Macmillan. Price 4s. 6d. net.)

"The Fraud of Feminism." By E. Belfort Bax. (London: Grant Richards, Ltd. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Westminster Review." November. (London: Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Englishwoman." November. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"The State and the Citizen." By the Earl of Selborne, K.G. (London: Warne and Co. Price 1s. net.)

"Convents in England. A Plea for State Inspection." By Elizabeth Sloane Chesser, M.B., Ch.B. (London: Protestant Reformation Society. Price 1d.)

† "Minds in Distress." A psychological study of the Masculine and Feminine Mind in Health and in Disorder. By A. E. Bridger B.A., B.Sc., M.D., F.R.S. (Edinburgh). (London: Methuen and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

‡ "The Vocation of Woman." By Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Price 4s. 6d. net.)

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THAT MYSTERIOUS CHURCH COUNCIL

By Joseph Clayton

From time to time allusions are made in print to a mysterious Church Council at Maçon, where, it is alleged, the fathers of the Christian Church gravely discussed the question, "Have Women Souls?" and only decided in favour after a heated division.

Anatole France, Mrs. Philip Snowden, in her little book on "The Feminist Movement," Rosa Mayreder, in "The Position of Women," and many other distinguished people, have mentioned this Council of Maçon, but none of them ever tell us their authority or refer us to any fuller statement on the matter.

Of course, on the face of it, the thing is impossible. No Council of the Christian Church could have discussed such a question. But that does not prevent people still quoting the Council of Maçon as a reproach to the Church. Now something must have happened at some Council for this legend to have arisen, and, leaving aside all decisions on the soul at non-Christian assemblies, let us clear up, if we can, the mystery of Maçon.

First of all, there was a Council of French bishops at Maçon (not Macon) A.D. 585, and Gregory, Bishop of Tours, in his "Historia Francorum," vol. viii. 20, mentions that at this Council a certain bishop objected to the word *homo* being applied to women. It was not at all a question of whether women were human beings, still less of their having souls. The only doubt in this scrupulous bishop's mind was whether the generic term *homo*, used in classical Latin of both sexes, could rightly be used of women. In reply, several of his colleagues pointed out that the word *homo*, man, was never restricted exclusively to the male in the Holy Scriptures. Here is the quotation in full as to what happened from Gregory of Tours:—

In this Council one of the Bishops declared that a woman could not be called *homo*. But when the other Bishops had reasoned with him he held his peace, for they showed him that the sacred text of the Old Testament taught that in the beginning, when God created man, it was said "male and female He created them, and He called their name Adam," which means man of the earth, thus using the same term for woman and man

alike, for He said that each of them was equally *Homo*. And also the Lord Jesus Christ is called the Son of Man, although He is the Son of the Virgin, that is of a woman. To whom when He was about to turn the water into wine, He said, "What is it to Me and to thee, woman," and so on. Thus with many other testimonies was this dispute cleared up and put right.

Perhaps the actual Latin of Gregory may be inserted for the removal of all doubt:—

Existit enim in hac synodo quidam ex episcopis, qui dicebat, mulierem hominem non posse vocitari. Sed tamen ab episcopis ratione accepta quievit, eo quod sacer Veteris Testamenti liber doceat, quod in principio, Deo hominem creante, ait: *Masculum et feminam creavit eos, vocavitque nomen eorum Adam*, quod est homo terreus, sic utique vocans mulierem seu virum; utrumque enim hominem dixit. Sed et Dominus Jesus Christus ob hoc vocitatur filius hominis, quod sit filius virginis, id est mulieris. Ad quam quum aquas in vina transferre pararet, ait: *Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?* et reliqua. Multisque et aliis testimoniis haec causa convicta quievit.

And on this bishop's simple grammatical question—so easily satisfied—the whole legend seems to have grown up. For no other early writer, save St. Gregory of Tours, throws any light on the subject, and, as far as I am aware, St. Gregory is the sole authority for this Council of Maçon.

Dom Leclercq, a French Benedictine of our own time, in his edition of the "Histoire des Conciles" (p. 213), has the following reference to the objection put forward to *homo* at Maçon:—

La difficulté soulevée ne vise pas l'âme humaine et raisonnable de la femme, mais le nom HOMME, homo, que cet évêque puriste s'étonne de lui voir attribuer.

(The difficulty raised does not refer to the human and rational soul of woman, but to the word man, *homo*, which this pedantic bishop was surprised to find applied to a female.)

Unless there exists some ancient document relating to the matter, which has hitherto escaped the notice of all historians, the truth about this elusive and mysterious Council at Maçon, and its mythical discussion on "Have Women Souls?" can now be known by all. Those who can consult neither Gregory's "Historia Francorum" nor Leclercq's "Histoire des Conciles," will find in *The Month* for January, 1911, a valuable article by Herbert Thurston on the subject.

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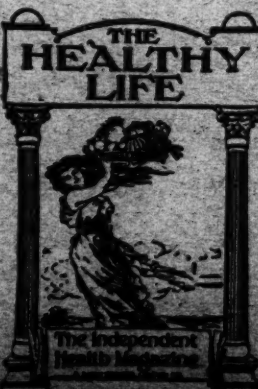
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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1913.

POLITICAL PRESSURE

The essential feature of the modern women's movement is its political character. This cardinal fact has a twofold application; firstly, as to the nature of the demand made; and secondly, as to the nature of the campaign by which that demand is to be enforced.

All down recorded history there are instances of women's movements, persuasive, militant, revolutionary. But these movements, though they may have been based upon wide ideas of greater sex equality, have only worked for certain direct ameliorations, and have never up till now sought to place the equality of women with men upon the permanent basis of equal political power. Women are now for the first time fully alive to the fact that unless this fundamental equality of political status be secured the ameliorations of to-day may be swept away tomorrow, while fresh injustices may be heaped upon them which will make their position worse than before. That is why the victory of the modern women's movement, with its demand for woman suffrage, is of greater moment than all the victories which have been won by women in the past.

But the very fact that the demand is political makes it necessary that the methods employed to enforce it shall be such as to exert pressure in the political field. Therefore, however valuable methods of pure propaganda may be as providing a background of favourable public opinion, they will not be successful unless they are reinforced by methods which have a direct bearing upon the immediate political situation.

It was for this reason that "militancy" was inaugurated. Finding that woman suffrage had become reduced to a lifeless academic discussion at a very few drawing-rooms and tea-parties, a body of women determined to revivify it by forcing it back

into the political arena. With this object they sent deputations to the Prime Minister at the House of Commons, they heckled Cabinet Ministers at their meetings, and they took an active part at all Parliamentary elections.

Step by step as time has gone by the methods adopted by the advanced body of suffragists have changed, and many of them, though still included in the term "militancy," are to-day widely different from those employed in the first instance. And it is a curious fact that the most militant part of the present suffrage campaign has to a large extent ceased to be of a primarily political character. The destruction of letters, the burning of houses, and other similar revolutionary actions are directed not against the Government or against the members of a political party, but against the public, and are defended by those who do them on the ground that they are the only means of bringing home to the public the fact that women will not any longer consent to continue in subjection. It is true that the Home Secretary, in his capacity as Chief Gaoler, is brought into the conflict whenever those who commit these offences are caught and imprisoned, and that Mr. McKenna, by his appalling inhumanity, has brought down upon himself the censure of all thinking men and women all over the world. But this is equally the case with all other militant action resulting in imprisonment. It does not alter the fact that, so far as this part of the advanced campaign is concerned, propaganda by revolution has taken the place of political pressure by militant action.

What has been lost in one direction must be gained in another, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that the existing methods of exerting political pressure, both militant and constitutional, shall be extended and developed, and that, if possible, new and additional methods shall be brought into play. One of the most valuable of the newer methods is the organisation in each constituency of a body of electors prepared to make this question of woman suffrage the supreme political issue at the present time.

In an important letter to us, which we print elsewhere, Mr. John Scurr outlines a suggestion that a joint committee of the existing men's societies shall be formed which shall undertake this valuable work. This proposal will, no doubt, be fully considered by the bodies directly concerned, but whether it can be adopted in this form or not, there is no reason whatever why a beginning should not be made at once both by men and by women in organising the electors. In Scotland the Northern Men's Federation is already at work along these lines, and has succeeded in bringing home to Sir Edward Grey and Lord Haldane the fact that electors who have hitherto voted Liberal are not content to allow woman suffrage to be further trifled with.

What is required is the enrolment in every constituency throughout the kingdom of a body of electors who place woman suffrage first. These men should be asked to pledge themselves that at the next election, unless woman suffrage be already secured, their vote shall be decided on this issue and not upon Home Rule, Land Reform, or any of the other questions that may be by that time agitating the political world. They should be asked to bring their decision home at once to their own member and to the political candidates of the opposing parties. They should make it clear that it will not be a matter of opinions of the individual candidate or of the leaders of his party, but of the actions of the leaders. And from now onwards they should take every possible opportunity of compelling the attention of candidates and their agents to their profound dissatisfaction at the way in which the suffrage question is at present being handled by the Government.

We believe that this work, if effectively carried out on an extensive scale, will be one potent means of bringing politicians back to a sense of their duty, and of convincing them that they cannot afford to leave woman suffrage to be settled after the next general election, but that they must get it out of the way before that election takes place.

A NEW MENACE TO WOMEN

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

Now that the King has approved the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the subject of Venereal Disease in the United Kingdom, it is vitally necessary that women should bring to bear upon the matter the most careful and critical judgment. The appointment of the Commission has been welcomed with approval by the Press, including many feminist organs. But, apart altogether from the manifest defect in the constitution of the Commission, which should have included as many women as men, we frankly confess that we view with grave apprehension the dangers to women in connection with the inquiry and recommendations of this official body.

Are women aware that although State regulation of vice is not to be considered as a remedy in combatting the ravages of venereal disease, the medical profession and the eugenisists still intend, if they can win the support of politicians, to make woman the scapegoat? The idea that is being steadily propagated at the present time is the compulsory examination not of the prostitute, but of the working-class expectant mother.

Of course, such a suggestion will not be openly put forward for a very long time. It may be that the first definite proposition will be made as an amendment to a Parliamentary Bill in a Departmental Committee. But a careful study of medical journals, also of reports of Conferences and Commissions, will reveal the fact to those who know the ways by which legislation is inaugurated that a secret and clever campaign is now on foot to prepare the nation for this change.

Dangerous Recommendations

It is being urged by men of influence in the medical profession that pregnancy be made compulsorily notifiable, and it is being demanded that Insurance Commissioners be asked to insist that the maternity benefit will be sacrificed by those who fail to notify their condition by the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy, and further—to quote from the recently published Local Government Report on Venereal Diseases—"that all still-births shall be notified and followed up by a medical inquiry into their causes." What does this mean? Examination of the mother? It is also urged in the same Local Government Special Report that still-births will be avoided "when systematic measures are taken for the recognition and treatment of syphilis in expectant mothers," a euphonism, there is reason to fear, for compulsory medical examination.

Let us consider the admission made in the Report already quoted—"that the large majority of infected persons are males, and these are very important agents for spreading the disease." And then let us think for one moment how this idea of compulsory notification of pregnancy and subsequent examination of expectant mothers would work out in actual practice. One of these "infected persons" marries and infects his young wife, freeing his own system, it may be, of the poison he has contracted. If no conception takes place, the girl's body becomes the home of this terrible disease. In the alternative event, the embryo absorbs the poison. In the latter case, if some of the recommendations now being made are adopted, the pregnancy will be notified under compulsion and "systematic measures" will then be taken. The young wife will be subjected to examination by State-appointed officials—in all probability by men. The exposure, the shame, and the horror of the whole business will fall upon the innocent woman.

In order to stamp out this hideous disease the male voters who are the "very important agents" in spreading it, can, on the advice of experts in the medical profession, establish by force of law a system which will deprive expectant mothers of personal rights, and will inflict upon them untold agony and shame.

The Utmost Vigilance Needed

Women can only avert this menace by being aware of the danger and by exercising the utmost vigilance with regard to all discussions on the subject of infant mortality, ante-natal hygiene, and especially at the present time with regard to the operations of the Royal Commission. They must not allow the most apparently innocuous suggestion to escape their closest scrutiny and criticism. Their danger lies in being taken by surprise. The repudiation of any revival of State Registration of Vice is designed to put them off their guard. The pretension of accord-

ing equal treatments to both sexes is loudly vaunted. It is only when it comes to speciously worded suggestions that the old wolf is found masquerading in the sheep's pelt.

Women must meet any suggestion that for whatsoever reason implies compulsory medical examination of their own sex by a counter suggestion that the same compulsion shall be applied to men. If compulsory examination and treatment is necessary, then there is a much more just and effective way of accomplishing it. Let every prospective husband undergo an examination, and let there be periodic examinations after marriage. Such a law would not be half so cruel as the system which is being suggested and quietly engineered in the medical world, for men can always be examined by their own sex. As a matter of fact, no such law could ever be passed or could indeed ever be seriously propounded for the simple reason that men have votes. But the suggestion of such a law supplies the requisite standard by which men can measure the horror with which women would regard any such enforced examination.

Women may feel inclined to brush aside this danger to their position and honour with which the newly appointed Commission on Venereal Diseases is fraught. But they must remember that the Contagious Diseases Act that inaugurated the system of State Regulated Vice with all the horrors of compulsory examination for prostitutes took them and the whole country by surprise. So well was the conspiracy between the medical profession and the ruling authorities hatched, that the House of Commons itself rushed the Act through without understanding its significance or realising its consequences.

MEN AND THE VOTE

To the Editors of "Votes for Women."

Dear Editors,—Whatever view one may hold concerning militancy, everyone admits that the devotion to an ideal, the sacrifice of health and liberty, are in themselves an evidence of a passionate sincerity which no sneer, cynicism, or coercion can destroy. It is also recognised by those who condemn the actions of the militants that an attempt must be made to stop this awful sacrifice of some of the best of our nation's womanhood.

There is, of course, only one way, and if we had statesmen sitting on the Treasury and on the Front Opposition Benches, instead of mere Party politicians, the solution would have been found long ago. A Government measure removing the sex barrier as a qualification for citizenship is the only remedy. The day of Private Members' efforts, and Conciliation Committees' proposals, is past and gone. To play with the matter in this manner would only be adding fuel to fire.

The practical question, therefore, for us to consider is: How are we going to force either or both of the big political parties to adopt the policy of a Government measure? I purposely omit any reference to the Labour Party, inasmuch as they will vote for a Suffrage measure as a matter of course, but primarily because the Labour Party is not making any bid to form a Government.

Although women have naturally to fight the matter of their own emancipation themselves, yet it is the duty of men to help in every way, because in the end the male voters, either because they will be convinced or forced, will decide the issue. The male Suffragist has therefore an enormous responsibility thrust upon him, as he, by having the franchise, can bring any Government to its knees. What, then, does he propose to do to secure the result required?

It must be admitted that up to the present, men, with comparatively few exceptions, have not been prepared to take any undue risk. There are a few men's societies in existence doing work in a small way, but there is no serious attempt made to organise the male voters into an effective force so as to influence the decisions of the various Party managers on policy. Also, between the men's organisations a quarrel prevails regarding the efficacy of militancy. I submit this is not a question for the men's societies to trouble about. It is purely a question for the women. What the men have got to do is to organise their own sex

When the electorate understood, they were too indolent to move in the matter, for the horror of the system affected only women. It cost pioneer women seventeen years of a campaign that was agony and martyrdom to sweep away the abominable Act from the administration of the United Kingdom. It is still in operation in India and in other parts of the Empire.

Women May be Caught Napping Again

In spite of the great awakening that has taken place amongst women it is still possible that we may be caught napping. At any moment an apparently innocuous suggestion that we ourselves may have been inclined to favour and to support may be twisted and turned into a frightful menace. Even a Bill that has been carefully drafted by men and women together can be altered in a Parliamentary Committee upstairs by a carefully packed majority of selected members.

The present position is full of grave peril. New schemes of legislation are a direct menace to women, especially when they are designed to deal with problems of sex. No such problem ought to be touched until women have the vote. The only remedy is an intense vigilance that knows no sense of security and that pounces upon and unmasks the lurking peril. It is at its inception that we must resolutely fight the idea that the ravages of sexual disease are to be stayed by letting man go free of all compulsion and visiting the penalties in the form of compulsory remedies upon women. When once the idea of compulsory notification of pregnancy has gained ground in the public mind, it will be almost impossible for the voteless womanhood of the country to stand against legislation that will inflict untold misery and degradation upon it.

to get the vote for women. Let each men's society preserve its existing organisation for specific work upon which they can differ legitimately, but at the same time let them unite upon a common policy for bringing about the result desired—a Government measure.

A United Committee representing the Men's League, the Men's Political Union, the Men's Federation, the Northern Men's Federation, and any other Suffrage society with male members should be formed. It should at once organise an educational campaign in every constituency. Meetings, lectures, debates should be arranged for.

But this should not be all. The proposed United Men's Committee should obtain in every constituency the names of men of every political faith who are prepared to make women's suffrage the supreme issue, and who are prepared to work and vote together in the way which circumstance proves to be best. Candidates for Parliament have got to be made to understand that no mere sympathetic pledge will avail in the future. The cry of 1832 "was the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Our cry has got to be "A Government measure at once, and nothing else."

After all, when we realise the supreme devotion of the women who are fighting, it should bring the blush of shame to our cheeks when we men consider our own apathy. It is asking very little indeed for men to subordinate their own particular political opinions to this great issue.

In a time of grave national crisis such as war or invasion, we do not hesitate to let everything go for the sake of the benefit of the country. We are faced with a grave national crisis to-day. Our women are in revolt against injustice, and it is our duty to subordinate all other questions until this matter is settled. Besides, if we believe in the suffrage we have no right to settle things by Parliamentary action when the women are excluded from a voice in the decision. Things may be done, of course, without Parliament, but this is not germane to the argument, as women would not be excluded from "direct actionist" methods.

It is for the men to say now if they are going to take up the fight seriously, or whether they are simply going to remain quiet and allow the women to fight alone, and thus merit the contempt they so richly deserve from the women.

The time for decision is now.—Yours, &c.,

John Seurr

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

For Assaulting a Wife

The *Glasgow Herald* (October 29) reports case of a man charged at the St. Rollox Police Court, Glasgow, before Police-Judge Montgomery, with assaulting his wife. He pulled her by the hair, knocked her down, jumped on her face, and kicked her.
Sentence: 60 days' imprisonment.

For Assaulting a Wife and Threatening Children

The *Hull Daily News* (October 31) reports case of a labourer charged at Grimsby with assaulting his wife, from whom he was separated. She alleged that he came into her house at dinner time and struck her on the mouth, and told the children he had come to cut all their throats. He chased her about the house with a poker. For the defence it was urged that the woman accused him of going with other women. This she absolutely denied. The Bench was satisfied there had been an assault, as the plaintiff had a black eye.
Sentence: A fine of 15s., or 14 days.

HEAVY SENTENCES

For Assaulting the Police

The *Birmingham Weekly Post* (October 25) reports case of a man charged at the Dudley Police Court with being drunk and assaulting two police constables, whom he struck and kicked.
Sentence: 7 months' imprisonment.

For Stealing a Handkerchief and Spectacles

The *Glasgow News* (October 30) reports case of a man charged at a pleading diet of the Glasgow Sheriff Criminal Court, before Sheriff Craigie, with snatching a handbag from a lady and throwing it to a confederate, who got away. It contained only a handkerchief and a pair of spectacles.
Sentence: 18 months' hard labour.

THE LEGAL PARENT

Those who still think that, although not the legal parent of her own child, the married mother suffers no loss of dignity thereby, should read the report of a case in the *Daily News* of November 3, relating how a gas stoker was summoned at Stansted Petty Session last Saturday for disobeying a Justices' order to have his child vaccinated.

Mrs. Reed, wife of the defendant, appeared in answer to the summons, saying her husband could not leave his work. Mr. H. D. Field, the Vaccination Officer, protested against her thus assuming the position of her child's parent, and she was ordered to retire and sit in the body of the court. Later, she was graciously permitted to enter the witness-box, whence she explained that she had a conscientious objection to vaccination as one of her children had died from it. She had, it appears, dared to fill in a paper herself, claiming exemption; but the officer, backed by the majesty of the law, refused to take it from any but the legal parent, her husband, who, however, could not read or write. The Bench imposed a fine of 1s. and 4s. costs—which they appeared to be able to do whether the legal parent was present or not.

We hold no brief for or against vaccination; but we protest most emphatically against the present state of the law, which makes it impossible for a married woman to fill in an exemption paper in the case of her own child, even when her husband, being illiterate, cannot do so for himself, and, being a worker, cannot appear in

Court. In the case just given, the woman's injury was intensified by the fact that she had, as she thought, a real reason for fearing the effect of vaccination upon her baby.

Penalisation of the Illegal Parent

The *Child's Guardian* (November), the organ of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, complains in an editorial note that abbreviated newspaper reports sometimes convey the false impression that the mother is treated more severely in the Courts than the father in cases of cruelty and neglect of children. We are not surprised that the impression is conveyed, for cases are frequent in which the father is bound over and the mother sent to prison. If, as the *Child's Guardian* infers (and it gives an instance to illustrate its contention), this impression arises through the omission from the newspaper report of facts which prove the greater guilt of the mother, we can only say that this is another proof of the low status of woman in this country, since it is not even considered necessary to explain why she is punished, while her husband, the legally responsible parent, goes free. Further, we still fail to see why, since she is denied the rights of a parent, she should be made to suffer for failing to fulfil the duties of a parent.

WOMEN'S PRESENCE IN THE COURTS

An interesting communication has reached us from Miss Adelaide Baly, the Hon. Press Secretary of the S.W. Federation, N.U.W.S.S., who tells us that it

was she who protested against being excluded from the Exeter Police Court on October 17 (see *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, October 24). Our correspondent goes on to comment as follows on the Exeter case. She says:—

"I have given some hours to investigation of this Exeter case, and two points force themselves very strongly upon me: (1) That in cases of this particular offence the law needs amendment if the miscreant is to be convicted, for the corroborative evidence demanded by the law is precisely the evidence which, from the very circumstances of such cases, is scarcely ever forthcoming. Hence the large number of instances of men known to be guilty getting off scot-free (in 1910, according to Blue Book statistics, 38 per cent.). In the Exeter case it was not denied that a criminal assault had been committed on the child, and no other man's name was even mentioned in connection with the case—moreover, the man has left Exeter. (2) In such cases where a child has to undergo medical examination, the services of a medical woman should, wherever possible, be secured, and in Exeter we have a resident medical lady holding a high degree.

"In conclusion, I assure you that though our Exeter Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. disapproves strongly of militant methods, we are a united and energetic band under the leadership of our secretary, Mrs. Fletcher, and I feel that personally I must express my deep gratitude to the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* for their devotion to the women's cause."

A Conservative Suffragist's Opinion

Mr. Percy Boulnois, speaking last week at Exeter in the occasion of the formation of a new branch of the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association, gave as an instance of the disabilities from which women suffered through their votelessness, the fact that women were tried in the Courts of Law by juries of men, and, in a number of cases, the women were ordered out of the Court, and the woman, whether defendant or witness, was left there with men only.

THE TENDENCY TO ACQUIT

As an instance of the tendency on the part of Judges to direct the jury to dismiss charges of assault upon little girls when not supported by corroborative evidence, we commented in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* (September 19) on the acquittal of a police-constable charged with such an offence before the Common Serjeant at the Old Bailey on September 11. The Women's Freedom League drew up a memorial of the case at the time and requested the Home Secretary to allow them to present it to him. This he has refused to do, but

has agreed to go into the matter, and further particulars are accordingly to be placed before him.

There is a fine breadth and simplicity in the demands made of Mr. McKenna by the W.F.L., which include the following:

(a) That the four police-constables [on whose evidence the charge was dismissed] be dismissed the force and brought to trial for not reporting a serious crime of which they swore they had knowledge.

(b) That the Common Serjeant be reprimanded for admitting altogether improper evidence, which evidently influenced him in his decision.

(c) That Mr. Bodkin be relieved of his duties as Public Prosecutor.

INFANTILE MORTALITY

Some gruesome statistics, showing the effect of bad housing upon the rate of mortality among infants under one year old are given in the annual report, just published, of the Medical Officer of Health for the county of Lancaster. In it Dr. Doyle, of Colne, reports that in that town during the year 1912, 165 children were registered as having been born in "back-to-back" houses, and of these 41 died, giving a rate of 248 per 1,000 births.

In "through" houses 362 births were registered, of whom 29 died, thus giving a death-rate of 80 per 1,000 births. Thus the infantile mortality in Colne is three times as high in badly built houses, where there is not enough air to breathe, as in houses that have access to the air both back and front.

To give some idea of what these figures mean, we may add that the infantile death-rate in normal years for the whole country is 110 per 1,000 births; that in London it is 91 per 1,000 births, and in Shoreditch, one of the most overcrowded districts in London, it reached last year the appalling figure of 128.

Two Housing Bills have been rejected by the Government now in office. No wonder Mr. John Burns is always at so much pains to point out that the prime cause of infantile mortality is the fact that mothers go out to work! If Cabinet Ministers were to stop saying that kind of thing, women might begin to suspect that their political inability to back Housing Bills had something to do with it.

Housing Conditions in Wales

In a terrible report just issued by Dr. Williams, Medical Officer of Health for Pembrokeshire, housing conditions are revealed that are scarcely credible. After giving statistics to show how tuberculosis is induced by such conditions, Dr. Williams describes the kind of cottages inhabited there by farm labourers, and says that a large proportion of the people live under conditions which are not conducive to health, decency, or morality. In many instances the same room has to serve as bedroom, kitchen, parlour, and sometimes mortuary. Under these conditions, he says, children fail to live, and others grow up weakly and deformed.

SOME NEW EDITIONS

Those who have always been readers of Mark Rutherford's books will not be in need, perhaps, of an edition of his works at this time of day. But he was one of those writers who are slow in coming into their own, and there are many people who only learned to know him after his death, which took place a few months ago. For them the new and complete edition of his books,* just issued, in six volumes, at the extraordinary low price of one shilling a volume, will be a delightful possession, and will probably be the means of making known to the public those of his novels which have not until now appealed to a large circle. Everybody has read or heard of his "Autobiography" and "Deliverance." His novels—"The Revolution in Tanner's Lane," "Clara Hopgood," "Catharine Furze," and "Miriam's Schooling"—should be equally well-known among suffragists, especially the first two, the scene of which is laid in the Reform Bill period and in the time of Mazzini respectively. But they all make their appeal to women fighting for freedom, and might well be read for that reason alone, even if they had not also the gentle attractive charm that is the special characteristic of all Mark Rutherford's work.

Mrs. Alec Tweedie's interesting book, "Through Finland in Carts," has now been published in an excellent Shilling Edition.† A most useful and instructive appendix has been added, dealing with Finland's political position at the present day.

Those who read Mr. W. Lyon Bleasde's "Emancipation of English Women" when it was first published will be glad to hear that a new and cheaper edition has just been issued which will bring it within the buying capacities of a larger circle of readers than were able before to purchase it. Looking into it we are again impressed by its value as a summary of the women's struggle for enfranchisement from the time of the Restoration until the present day; and the bibliography will be of great interest to all students.

* New Popular Edition of Mark Rutherford's Works, in Six Volumes. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 1s. net each.)

† "Through Finland in Carts." By Mrs. Alec Tweedie. (London: Nelson. Price 1s. net.)

‡ "The Emancipation of English Women." By W. Lyon Bleasde. New and Revised Edition. (London: David Nutt. Price 6s. 6d. net.)

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THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

SUFFRAGISTS STOP MR. ASQUITH'S MOTOR

Woman Nearly Run Down—Four Arrests Made

On Saturday afternoon last Mr. Asquith unveiled a memorial to the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at Stirling. He drove to the ceremony with Miss Asquith and Sir John and Lady Graham, and as their motor neared the village of Bannockburn four women stood in the road and signalled to it to stop. This it did not seem prepared to do, so one woman placed herself in its way, crouching down before it, and deliberately facing the chance of being killed. Fortunately, the chauffeur was able to stop the car, though, it is reported, only within a few yards of the woman. Meanwhile, her three companions had sprung on to the steps of the car, one armed with a dogwhip, which it is said she was unable to make full use of. The other two threw into the motor little white paper parcels, which broke and covered the occupants with their contents. It is reported in some papers that these packets were filled with red pepper, which plentifully besprinkled the Prime Minister. Mr. Asquith's motor, it appears, was closely followed by another one filled with detectives, who rushed forward and seized the Suffragist from the front of the car. All four women were taken into custody and were conveyed to the police office, Stirling.

Charged With Assault

A large crowd assembled at the Stirling Sheriff's Court on Monday, when the four Suffragists, who gave their names as Miss Violet Asquith, Miss Maud Allan, Miss Margot Tennant, and Miss Catherine Douglas, were brought before the Sheriff. They were charged with assault upon the Premier by striking him with a

dog whip and by throwing pepper over him. The proceedings, which were in the nature of a declaration before trial, were held in private, the Court being cleared. The Suffragists refused to make any declaration in the matter, and treated the whole proceedings with scorn. All four had been on hunger and thirst strike since Saturday. They were liberated on bail of £10 each. It is expected that there will be no more about the case as neither Mr. Asquith nor Sir John Graham wish to prosecute.

It is reported that the police are well aware that the Suffragists gave fictitious names and know their real identity, one being a prominent Edinburgh woman and the other three coming from Glasgow.

NEWS OF PRISONERS

Mrs. Rigby, the Liverpool Suffragist, who has been re-arrested five times under the Cat and Mouse Act, was on October 29 reported "missing."

Mr. Harry Johnson, who was sentenced in July to twelve months' hard labour for an alleged attempt to fire a house, and was released on July 27, was re-arrested in Fleet Street on October 30. He was released on Tuesday morning after hunger-striking.

Miss Ansell was also re-arrested on October 30, and released again on Tuesday morning. She is reported to be very ill in consequence of her second hunger-strike, as she has a weak heart. Miss Ansell had been sentenced to one month's imprisonment on August 2 for obstruction, and was released on August 6.

Miss Dulcie West was released for a third time on Saturday.

Miss Cissie Willcox, who was sentenced to a fine of 20s. or fourteen days' imprisonment at Whitley on October 29, was given three days in which to pay the fine. These expired last Friday, the fine had not been

paid, and so far no attempt has been made to arrest her.

Miss Freda Graham, who was sentenced to £20 or two months' imprisonment on October 29 for assault on the police, which she denied, has had her fine paid anonymously.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST

New Form of Militancy

Up to the time of going to press, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst had not been re-arrested, though her licence has now expired some time, and it was feared that the police might attempt to take her both after the *Daily Herald* meeting at the Albert Hall last Saturday, and again after her speech at Hackney last Monday. On the latter occasion, Miss Pankhurst announced a scheme for the formation of a corps of volunteers for the protection of Suffragettes.

"Look at Sir Edward Carson"

"Look at Sir Edward Carson," she said. "Well, we have got to do the same thing. The day we have our army is the day that the Government will come to us offering us the vote. It is no joke. We are absolutely in earnest. There will be no fear of me or any Suffragette going back to prison if we have an army like Sir Edward Carson's."

On Wednesday evening, after we went to press, a meeting was to be held at Bow Baths, to which Sir Francis Vane, who fought in the Boer War, was coming to commence the organisation and drilling of the first corps, which men and women are asked to join.

PRAYERS FOR SUFFRAGISTS

Last Sunday prayers were again offered for Suffragists by members of the congre-

gations in several churches, among which were Westminster Abbey and St. George's, Hanover Square. At St. Alphege Parish Church, Greenwich, a banner was unfurled inscribed, "Christians should protest against forcible feeding."

HADDON HALL CLOSED

The Duke of Rutland has decided to close Haddon Hall until April 1, as a precaution against possible attacks on it by Suffragists. Throughout the summer and autumn the Hall has been guarded by six or seven policemen, but now the Duke has decided to dispense with these and close the building. Considerable feeling has been roused in the neighbourhood by this action, as it is thought it will influence trade and hotels, and a petition has been addressed to the Duke asking him to reconsider his decision, but this he says he is unable to do.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the press to Suffragists during the week:—

Friday, October 31.—In Edinburgh dozens of plate glass windows scored with a diamond, over a route of about three miles.

Sunday, November 2.—One of the greens of the Preston Golf Club damaged with chloride of lime; flag left behind inscribed "Damages to Asquith."

Monday, November 3.—Attempt to fire Streatham Railway Station; Suffrage literature found.

Tuesday, November 4.—Attempt to fire Monmouthshire County Council offices, Newport; flag found marked "Votes for women."

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THE POLITICAL SERVITUDE OF WOMEN

Speech by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

Speaking on the solidarity of womanhood, at a meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association on Thursday in last week, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said that the women's movement was not only world-wide, but age-old. In all old civilisations there had been an effort on the part of women to free themselves from the restrictions imposed on them by men. She told the story of the Athenian woman, who, realizing how her countrywomen suffered from the fact that they were dependent on men for all medical attention, disguised herself as a man, studied in the medical school, and finally, with the aid of her own patients, fought her battle before the authorities and won for Athenian women the right to become doctors on equal terms with men. In Rome, too, women on various occasions banded themselves together to fight unjust legislative proposals. They won many victories, but they did little to advance their cause, because each victory stood alone. They did not press for political freedom. Had they done so the history of civilised women through all the centuries would have been changed, for the laws of Christendom, based on Roman law, crystallised the Roman attitude towards women and perpetuated their political servitude.

Where the Roman Women Failed

One could not too strongly emphasize nowadays this failure of earnest, capable Roman women to push their victories to their practical conclusion. There was an evident tendency in some quarters to-day to belittle the value to women of political enfranchisement, and many who acknowledged that reforms in economic and social conditions were urgently needed, were yet advising women that the vote would really be of little service. They must remember that without political power, there was no security for any reform, and the victories gained for women to-day might be taken from them fifty years hence.

The movement was gaining ground enormously in the public conscience. It was appealing to people as a great moral and social reform, and in this aspect it was gaining victory after victory. Everywhere it was now the live question of the day, underlying everything else like a live wire. Even when people did not touch it they remembered that it was there, and obviously they were dominated by the one fear that they might touch it.

A Dangerous Tendency

Politically, however, the movement seemed to have come for the moment to a deadlock. This would have to be overcome by renewed concentration upon a directly political campaign. Not enough was being done among the electors to get them to put Woman Suffrage first, and so force politicians into action. Another

danger arose from the fact that women were so new to politics that they had not yet learnt political tact, nor did they appreciate the danger of openly acknowledging division in their ranks. Open acknowledgment of division was a mistake which all the great political parties studiously avoided. Many Conservatives heartily disliked Sir Edward Carson's methods, many Liberals disapproved of the Government's land proposals. No doubt they expressed their opinions and exerted their influence freely among themselves, but there was no open repudiation, no saying that they disapproved of certain methods. For political purposes they were wise enough to sink their personal differences and animosities and to present a united front to the enemy.

Suffragists must learn to do the same, to play a political game for the sake of the larger issues. Until they did so there must always be inherent weakness on the political side of their movement.

SUFFRAGIST WEEK OF PRAYER

The National Week of Prayer (November 1 to November 8), organised by the United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, will draw to a close soon after this paper appears. Every religious Suffrage Society, of whom there are some six or seven, has co-operated in this week of intercession for the Cause; and on Thursday, after we went to press, a social reception was to be held at the Caxton Hall, the hostesses including Mrs. Meynell, Mrs. Hinscliff, Mrs. Strickland, Mrs. Crofield, Mrs. Herbert Cohen, and the Lady Frances Balfour.

An American Comment

In our civil war, the body-servant of a famous Southern general said that whenever his master prayed all night it meant there was going to be a big battle in the morning. When women of all classes and creeds unite in prayer that the hearts of their rulers may be changed, the rulers will do well to take heed. It means a big battle after the prayers are over.

A. S. B. in the "Woman's Journal."

THE MILITANT ULSTER WOMEN

A writer in the *Times*, in the course of an article on "The Women of Ulster," pays a tribute to their political sincerity and their militant spirit. "Talk to them of politics," he says, "and you will find that though they may be less fierce in their expressions they are no more inclined to yield an inch of their case than are their men folk. And I must add that among the rabble when riots are at hand, the women of the people in both parties are a most pugnacious influence. I heard that during the disturbances in Derry they would go to all lengths of intrigue in order to keep the flame of fury alight."

Chapter 12

The Slavery of the Wash-tub

Wash-day at its best is a day of toil and worry and discomfort. Soap, steam and smell all through the house, smearing everything, blinding everybody.

Rubbing, scrubbing, tubbing.

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THE SEVEN STAGES OF BECOMING A SUFFRAGIST

- First: "It doesn't interest me."
- Second: "I really don't care whether women get the vote or not."
- Third: "It's most amusing how much those Suffragists care about such a little thing."
- Fourth: "I haven't the time to vote, anyway. I'm late now for my bridge."
- Fifth: "Oh, I know it's bound to come."
- Sixth: "I'm on the fence."
- Seventh: "Suffragist? Yes, indeed, I couldn't be anything else; been one for forty years. Guess I was born one!"

Life.

OUR MISUNDERSTOOD HOME SECRETARY

Mr. McKenna, speaking at Blaenavon the other day, dealt with Mr. Keir Hardie's accusation that he was a torturer of women. He said he (Mr. McKenna) spoke with "great reluctance" on the subject. (We are not surprised.) Undoubtedly, he continued, his duty as Home Secretary was to be in a sort of way head gaoler, and he asked if he had tortured any woman by offering her good and wholesome food? If she declined to take it, was it his fault? The audience, being the usual packed one, guaranteed not to want votes for women, shouted "No!" and the Home Secretary felt sufficiently cheered to go on to the next point.

Horrible thought! Have we really misunderstood our good and noble Home Secretary all the time?

A SUFFRAGIST POET IN 1867

It makes us wonder whether we have travelled very far in forty-six years when we read the verses printed below, which appeared in the paper, *Fun*, as long ago as March 2, 1867, the year of the second Reform Bill and John Stuart Mill's Woman Suffrage resolution in connection with it. The poem has an additional interest for us, as the copy from which we are able to reprint it, and which had been preserved for nearly half a century, was given to one of our paper-sellers the other day by a cabman. Here are the verses:—

EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE TO WOMEN

Notes of a Speech to be delivered by J. S. Mill, Esq., M.P., during the Debate on the New Reform Bill.

We all of us no doubt believe
What we are taught in church and chapel,
That sin was born to mother Eve
By eating the forbidden apple;

That she made Adam eat some too—
An act to be forgiven never!
And therefore punishment is due
To her, and to her sex, for ever!

And if the ills she has to bear,
Compared with ours, are often rougher,
She does not in our suffrage share,
Although for her we have to suffer!

But if afflicted for her sin,
And we for hers, as well as ours,
Why visit it upon her, in
Depriving her of equal pow'rs?

Is it that she may sorrowing live,
Mourning an ancestry of sinners,
Or that she time and thought may give
Only to dress herself—and dinners?

Women are merchants, rulers, queens,
And govern men in every station;
Yet do we not accord them means
To help in governing the nation.

'Tis now as 'twas with Eve of yore,
Man bows to her, the Legislator!
Then why should we this fact ignore,
And try to make ourselves the greater?

Give her free scope, and ample space
To exercise her rightful pow'rs,
Nor fancy that it will disgrace
Our manhood if they equal ours.

She has her intellects, her life,
Opinions, property, and feelings;
And everybody likes his wife
To take an interest in his dealings,

Whether with science or with art,
In ink or iron, corn or cotton,
Whether at some commercial mart,
Or for a borough, sound or rotten.

In fact, the very wisest men
Have found some women to be wiser,
Politics, commerce, sword, and pen,
In all she has been man's adviser.

Then give her public power to do
What now in private she is doing;
Give her a vote to give to you
Instead of for another's suing.

Sir, let us follow where they lead,
"From Indus to the Pole," and whether
Or not we vote alike, I plead
For liberty to vote together!

I will not trespass further, sir,
Except to say the motion made is,
That we the franchise should confer
On mankind's better half, the ladies!

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN MUSIC AND DANCE

Miss Annie Spong, of whom we reproduce on this page a picture in one of her dance postures, has an interesting conception of the place of dancing in modern life and modern education. Her idea is that by learning true and natural movement a proper balance of mind and body is acquired, and a larger, fuller conception of nature is attained. She emphatically denies that her school at Hampstead proposes to "teach" Greek dancing.

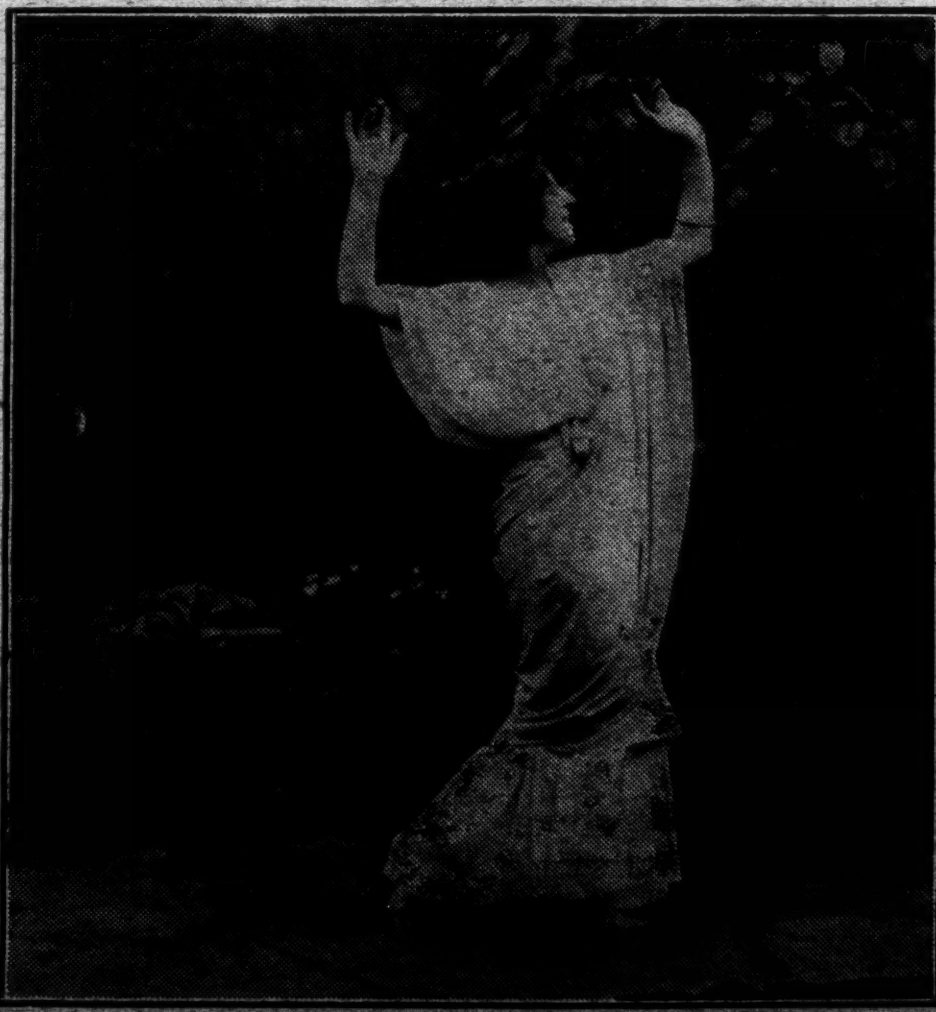
"No one can do that," she says. "I teach natural movement, basing my study upon the knowledge of the science of movement that the Greeks undoubtedly possessed. It was to them a vitally important element in the education of the child, the citizen, and the warrior. This is proved, even through the dress of the men and women of the greatest Greek period."

As far as children are concerned, Miss Spong thinks that her system of dancing will help them "to be normal beings, and will give them power to fight disease and evil." She quotes Dr. Johnson to illustrate her meaning: "The irregular combinations of fanciful invention may delight awhile by that novelty of which the common satiety of life sends us all in quest; the pleasures of sudden wonder are soon exhausted, and the mind can only repose on the stability of truth."

The Rachmaninoff Prelude

An original performance will be given by Miss Spong and her pupils at the Court Theatre on November 17, when, in one of the dances, the woman's movement will be symbolised to the music of Rachmaninoff's beautiful Prelude. The first notes herald the beginning of the battle which is waged all through the intricate composition of the music until the final melody is reached, and with it the note of victory.

Miss Spong is, as our readers probably know, a very keen Suffragist.



MISS SPONG IN ONE OF HER DANCES

THE FORCIBLE FEEDING SCANDAL

Still going on in Holloway Gaol—Protest Meetings in View—Clergy Meet to Protest—Denunciations by Medical Women and Others

FROM THE BISHOP OF KENSINGTON

The Bishop of Kensington sends us an extremely interesting quotation as being appropriate at the present moment in view of the Government's treatment of Suffragist prisoners. The passage is taken from Elizabeth Fry's "Observations on the Visiting, Superintendence and Government of Female Prisoners" (published by Messrs. Hatchard and Sons: Piccadilly, 1827), and runs as follows:—

"A strict and even severe discipline may often be very proper for criminals, but . . . I question . . . whether it can be proper for State offenders, persons imprisoned, however rightly, on political grounds. Above all, if the time should ever again arrive when man shall be consigned to the prison house for conscience sake, may our systems of disciplinary punishment never be so applied as to add oppression and sorrow to the bonds of the righteous."

MISS RACHEL PEACE

Forcible feeding still continues. As we go to press we understand that Miss Rachel Peace has not yet been released; she is therefore presumably still being subjected to this loathsome and dangerous process three times a day. We remind our readers that Miss Peace was arrested with Miss Mary Richardson on October 4 on suspicion of being concerned in the firing of a house at Hampton-on-Thames, that she was refused bail, and has been in custody ever since. Her trial, which was to have taken place at the Old Bailey last Tuesday, was deferred, the Sessions having been postponed until November 11. Miss Peace, who started the hunger-strike at once and has been forcibly fed since October 10, is therefore being tortured in solitary confinement as a prisoner on remand, who, in the letter of the law, is innocent because she has not been yet convicted.

Her Statement

The following statement made by Miss Rachel Peace was issued at the end of last week:—

"I am being forcibly fed three times a day now. I believe the reason is because I continue to lose weight."

"I am afraid I shall be affected mentally—I feel as if I should go mad. I have had nervous breakdowns before, and now feel sensations of an impending crisis. Old distressing symptoms have re-appeared. I have frightful dreams, and am struggling with mad people half the night."

In what sort of a condition will Miss Peace be when she has to defend herself in court, next week, on a serious charge?

RESOLUTIONS

(By the Actresses' Franchise League, October 28)

That this committee protests most emphatically against the resumption by the Home Office of the abominable and cruel practice of forcibly feeding Suffrage prisoners, and points out that such practice can only be regarded as intended for a deliberate act of torture, for, as shown by the case of Miss Mary Richardson, the operation does not force the prisoner to serve out her sentence, and is therefore futile as well as dangerous.

This committee condemns in the strongest terms the vindictive persecution of women, and calls upon the Liberal Government to fulfil its principles, as stated by Mr. Winston Churchill, by seeking for the cause of the violence and disorder, with a view to the immediate redress of the grievances of women, by the grant to them of the franchise.

By the Forward Cymric Union

That this meeting of the London Branch of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union desires to record its emphatic protest against the cruel practice of forcible feeding which is being carried on in H.M.'s prisons as a means of punishment, and calls upon the Government to order its discontinuance at once, and to take in-

stead the only steps by which British women can be relieved from the grave injustice under which they are suffering.

HOME SECRETARY APPROACHED

The Penal Reform League, 68A, Park Hill Road, N.W., have addressed the following letter to the Home Secretary:—

Sir,—With reference to reports which have appeared in the press announcing the resumption of forcible feeding in prison, the committee of the Penal Reform League desire me to draw your attention to a resolution passed at their meeting in July last to the following effect:—

"The Executive Committee of the Penal Reform League, having in view the discredit brought on law by what is known popularly as the 'Cat and Mouse Act,' and the injury inflicted thereby on the course of penal reform, hereby expresses its conviction that when a prisoner who is in prison for conscience sake brings himself by hunger-striking or similar self-discipline to a state of health which, in the opinion of the Medical Officer of the prison in which he is confined, endangers his life, then justice and humanity demand that he be released unconditionally."

My committee wish me to add that, in their opinion, even so grave a misfortune as the death of one or two prisoners would be a less serious evil than the deterioration of the moral sense of the community effected by acquiescence in such an abominable outrage as is involved in forcible feeding.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR ST. JOHN
(Hon. Sec. Penal Reform League).

A PROTEST MEETING

We understand that a public meeting to protest against forcible feeding will be held in the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday, November 25, and that Mr. Israel Zangwill will be one of the speakers.

Action of the Clergy

According to the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* private meetings were held in London last week of Anglican clergy, presided over by the Bishop of Kensington, as an outcome of the Bishop of Winchester's letter, and also with a view to organising a demonstration shortly, one of the objects of which will be to call upon the Government to stop the process of forcible feeding.

DENUNCIATIONS OF FORCIBLE FEEDING "Bringing Justice into Contempt"

In a strongly worded letter to the *Nation*, Mr. Henry W. Nevins states in detail the case of Miss Mary Richardson (see last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*), and deduces from it the following conclusions:

"(1) The only object of forcible feeding is to compel the prisoner to serve the sentence. It enabled the Home Office to keep Miss Richardson in prison about ten days before her last sentence of four months, and five days after. (2) As to the 'Cat-and-Mouse' Act; far from acting as a deterrent or reforming agency, it tends to increase the crime, for each of Miss Richardson's offences seems to have been more serious than the last. (3) Before the 'Cat-and-Mouse' Act, Miss Richardson's release would have been unconditional. She is now subject to be dragged back to gaol as soon as Mr. McKenna hears she is well enough to endure a repetition of the horrors just for another fortnight or so, unless she dies."

"And so things will go on, creating blood-poisoning in the State, bringing justice into contempt, and making the name of the Liberal Party to stink. You yourself have called the Government's treatment of this question a 'tragedy of errors,' and unless Mr. Asquith redeems the situation by redeeming his pledges, the tragedy will only deepen. The Bishop of Winchester calls for a Truce of God. All suffragists would welcome it as heartily as himself. But he perfectly fairly states the one and only preliminary condition—the definite promise of a Government measure, and the promise must be given by a man whose word we can trust."

"A Revival of Torture"

The *Nation*, in an editorial note, refers also to the case of Miss Lenton, released on October 15, after an attempt was made to feed her forcibly, and comments thus:—

"If these reports of Miss Lenton and Miss Richardson are truthful, this method—which, by the way, has completely failed—is in fact and in historical significance, a revival of torture. And it is a virtual breach of faith with Parliament. The House of Commons expressed, during the debate of the Cat-and-Mouse Bill, an almost unanimous distrust of this practice, and parted, we believe, with a full impression that Mr. McKenna meant to

abolish it. On its revival, it has been used against some prisoners, and not against others, which is a further abuse."

PRESS CRITICISMS

From the "Daily Citizen"

If it is necessary to punish and forcibly feed, it is still more necessary to remove the causes of injustice which lead to these deplorable results. By "Cat-and-Mouse" Acts and other expedients the militant movement may conceivably be crushed—but what then? The suffrage movement cannot be crushed. Would it not be well to face the wider issue and deal with it? It is impossible even for Liberal leaders to hide their heads for all time in the sand.

From the "Pioneer"

What remains, then, but to believe that this form of treatment is merely used as torture—as a "deterrent," as Mr. McKenna once termed it in a moment of inadvertence? Whatever our personal views, whatever our creed, whatever our political beliefs, we should surely, as women, all join in absolutely condemning this abominable practice whereby women, whose actions are dictated by the highest motives, are brought to death's door without any of the stated objects of this treatment being obtained.

From the "Christian Commonwealth"

Opinion is general that this step would not have been taken had Parliament been sitting. . . . For ourselves we have again and again condemned the proceeding, on the grounds that it is a violation of the right of the individual; that it fails in its ostensible object, nearly all the people who are forcibly fed having to be released owing to the condition to which they have been reduced, long before the completion of their sentences; that it was generally understood the Prisoners' Temporary Discharge for Ill-health Act would put an end to the objectionable method; and that, therefore, to revert to it is to employ torture as a punitive weapon.

FROM A MEDICAL WOMAN

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—The whole civilised world, with its eyes on the English militant movement, will have been startled and horrified at the recommencement of forcible feeding of suffrage prisoners under the care of the Home Secretary.

The real purpose of this "treatment" is now made clear for the first time—the infliction of physical torture as an attempt to break down our martyrs' determination that no power on earth, however high, can force them to obey laws whilst their rights as citizens are persistently refused recognition. And Mr. Churchill coos glibly about the sweet reasonableness of Liberalism to inquire into root causes of militancy (of Ulster type). Sometimes the regard paid to the force argument is Liberalism, sometimes it is weakness—therefore Liberalism is weakness. Q.E.D.

When forcible feeding was practised before, Mr. McKenna's excuses for it were two-fold:—(1) To prevent starvation of the convicted prisoner; (2) to prevent premature termination of the sentence; and he sheltered himself behind anonymous medical advice that the process was not dangerous, but "necessary medical treatment" or "ordinary medical practice." Time after time, suffrage prisoners have had to be released long before the termination of their sentence, and in a state that rendered further imprisonment dangerous to health.

We all know what that state was—it may not have been a state of starvation, but it was one of grave injury to mouth, throat, and nose, of broken teeth and lacerated gums, of pneumonia and pleurisy, serious digestive trouble, nervous prostration, &c., directly caused not by abstinence from food, but by the operation of forcible feeding. Any surgical operation with such gross, disastrous results in "ordinary surgical practice" would probably be actionable, especially if performed without the consent of patient or friends. But prison doctors are exempt from the ethics of "ordinary medical practice"; what is unprofessional outside prison passes for medical treatment within prison walls.

As Dr. Bradley wrote in the *British Medical Journal*, September 14, 1912:—

"Having read the account of forcible feeding of suffrage prisoners, I am surprised that medical men can be found to carry out such operations, which I consider to be degrading them to the level of common executioners. Not that I sym-

pathise with the foolishness and misguided tactics of those who resort to such subterfuges as hunger-strikes to escape justice."

But why all this pother? Why not let the prisoners starve themselves if they wish to do so? A few days' or a week's starvation would do them no harm, or, at least, less harm than forcible feeding," &c., &c.

In Dr. Bradley's opinion, at least, "prison treatment does not include the infliction of harm."

When at last public opinion, coupled with views on forcible feeding, expressed by Members of Parliament in the House of Commons as "brutal," "disgusting," "loathsome," "horrible," forced Mr. McKenna to cease, he devised the Cat and Mouse Act, which implies more tardy and somewhat less dramatic infliction of torture, and released his doctors and wardresses from their more odious tasks. Now that the Act has been in force some months, and has failed utterly, he returns to forcible feeding of those whom he says it would be unsafe in the public interest to allow at large. And he starts applying his "treatment" to prisoners on remand, who presumably are innocent until tried and sentenced. If they are already guilty, why put them through the farce of a trial at all?

Perhaps he will now suggest forcible feeding of everyone who openly avows sympathy with the suffrage movement. It would please Mr. Bodkin. Orthodoxy before now has perpetrated what posterity has condemned as cruel, unjust, and stupid.

But why not take time by the forelock? Let each heretic ascertain the orthodoxy of medical attendants, spiritual advisers, and Parliamentary representatives, and act accordingly. There are surely enough heretics at least amongst the first two professions to satisfy all our needs, and perhaps a little peaceful picketing may bring others into line. As to Members of Parliament, the threat of loss of votes is often a powerful incentive to action, and surely at no time was urgent pressure more necessary on those who have not yet expressed themselves very definitely on this matter.

Of these three professions, the medical is unenviably notorious in its lack of condemnation of an abomination that even in Russia, until recently at least, was not called forth by the hunger-strike of political prisoners. No doubt now she will take courage from the support and example afforded by her ally in the West. By its silence, the medical profession leaves its less independent colleagues, the prison doctors, without any moral support in their possible repugnance to carrying out the order of their superior officer, the lay Home Secretary. By its silence it makes it impossible for these unfortunate colleagues to rise to the height of the Arabian doctor's oath of initiation—"to be faithful to the laws of honour, honesty, and benevolence in the practice of medicine."

But let each one of us be up and doing without a moment's delay. Our soldiers are being tortured in a way that outside the suffrage question would not be tolerated for a moment, even if applied to the perpetrator of the most dastardly crime known—outrage on little girls. The physical and mental torture of forcible feeding is only possible in a country where men's courtesy is lip service, and that only to a favoured personal circle of women, but not to womanhood.

"Crucify, crucify!" is still the cry of the crowd to the martyr in her agony.—Yours, &c.,

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CORRESPONDENCE

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ANONYMITY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Is it not time the fact that anti-suffrage men so generally skulk behind anonymity should be realised and appreciated? The other day it was a medical practitioner, then a military father of daughters, more recently the incumbent of a parish. These courageous persons one and all "preferred to remain anonymous." They are not the sort of persons who are usually reticent about seeing their names—Jones, L.R.C.P.; Brown, Vicar of Slocombe; and John Robinson, Major—in print. They are people who are ashamed to be connected with the sentiments which they itch to announce in the newspapers, and they are afraid of the opinion of the decent women in their neighbourhood. The Anti-Suffrage Society promised to make it manifest that for one woman in favour of her enfranchisement 'ten were against.' This increasing anonymity of men does not look like it!

And this week I have received a publisher's notice of an anti-suffrage book the author of which describes himself as "a popular and well-known novelist who desires to remain anonymous." Women novelists, dear Editors, used in the past to be anonymous lest the independent-minded Briton should fail to recognise talent in a "petticoat"—are male novelists about to hide behind anonymity for fear of women Daniels come, at last, to (just) judgment? But the "popular and well-known" one hangs out the purple, white, and green flag on his circulars! He is, in fact, hiding behind the women's petticoats in the hope, doubtless, of attracting an audience which would not be attracted either by his subject or by his popular and well-known name.

When a London daily published a "Woman's Platform" it discouraged anonymity, and it will be remembered that while Suffragists signed their names, the "antis" for the most part kept their names to themselves. What is there behind these facts? To ease your sex vanity by vicious outpourings is quite comprehensible in a certain type of male; but it should be understood once for all that to do this under cover abolishes the last rag of pretence that you are crusading on behalf of light and justice.

On the Titanic there were two men who saved themselves in women's clothes. Those men were a parable. They had ardently concurred, no doubt, in the disabilities imposed on women in view of certain privileges she enjoys and the male does not. They had, of course, always despised "petticoats." But when the moment came for the petticoat of disability to become the petticoat of privilege, they filched this garment for themselves—for the first and the last time only. They had never seen any sense in petticoats before.

The men who now fight anonymously against women are not unlike these galleys. Women serve them hand and foot, honest women shake their hands in their own and their friends' drawing-rooms—their spiteful thoughts of woman must out, but they don't mean to lose her moving kindness thereby, and they dare not face her scorn. They dare not drown themselves, but perhaps they can help to push the woman under. So they say their little say, but under false colours; they filch from the woman the esteem and the kindness which would be withheld if she recognised their disguise.—Yours, &c.,

M. A. R. TUKER.

THE POSITION OF WIVES AND MOTHERS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I read your article in VOTES FOR WOMEN a few weeks ago on the position of women as wives and mothers. The article was very good, but did not show up the possible position of the woman who, after working and worrying for the best years of her life (say from twenty-five to fifty years of age) as a true and faithful wife and mother, finds that the law of this country allows that man to leave his home, and his wife and children to starve, or go into the workhouse, after they attain the age of sixteen, the man having formed other ties and his wife objecting to condoning them in silence. I am told there is no law to make any man maintain his wife after her children are sixteen, except inside the workhouse. I have tried for about twelve years to prove and keep my rights as mistress and wife in my husband's home against another woman, but he left me over two years ago for her sake. And this is all the law and protection I have got in the police courts, and he will not sign a separation order nor yet find me a home, and I am now kept by my girls, twenty and twenty-two years old—three of us on £1 per week. My husband tells me to earn my living on the

streets, and my girls. He earns £3 10s. per week. I can't get work.—Yours in sympathy,

A LIVERPOOL WOMAN.

October 24, 1913.

AT THE BY-ELECTIONS

"Votes for Women" Fellows at Keighley

A Fellow writes from Keighley of the difficulties she and another member of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship had to encounter when paper-selling last week at Keighley, where at the beginning of the campaign, all the irresponsible young roughs of the town took a pleasure in mobbing everybody they did not happen to have seen about the place before.

"The first person we met in Keighley," writes our correspondent, "was a Suffragist, spattered with mud all over her face, and she warned us to look out for ourselves. The National Union speakers had been badly mobbed at the dinner hour meeting; in fact, everybody, including the 'Antis,' had been mobbed by young roughs. We sold sixty-three copies and then were mobbed (separately, as we did not sell together) by young fellows, who pelted us with mud and hit us with caps.

"The police were as efficient as ever! They disappeared in my friend's case, and in mine they waited until I had walked like the Pied Piper, surrounded by a large crowd of hooligans, all down the main street and into a shop. Then one policeman came into the shop and asked me to hide my papers and he would then escort me out of Keighley. Needless to say, I refused either to hide my papers or to accept his escort. It was dreadful after five o'clock, but I will try and go over again next week."

"We understand that the opposition, even of the young hooligan, has now been worn down in Keighley, and that the Suffragists are everywhere having good meetings. The highest praise is due to those who, like our correspondent and her friend, braved the ignorant opposition of the first few days of the campaign."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP IN INDIA.

A Fellow from India writes: "You will be pleased to hear that I have succeeded in getting permission from the committee of the Simla Municipal Library to present a weekly copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN to the Reading Room. I took down the first copy yesterday."



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MRS. PANKHURST IN AMERICA

Some of the English newspapers having been at great pains to represent Mrs. Pankhurst's tour in America as a failure, the *London Budget* sent her a cablegram last week asking if there was any truth in this report, and whether her engagement to speak at Indianapolis had been cancelled, as was reported. To this Mrs. Pankhurst sent the following cable in reply from Nashville, Tennessee:—

"Indianapolis statement is untrue. All meetings have been crowded and enthusiastic."

A 2,000dols. Collection

An interesting account of Mrs. Pankhurst's Madison Square Garden meeting on the night of her arrival in New York is given in the *New York Evening Post*, which says that the meeting would have been a still greater success had not the date and time of the meeting been

"changed and changed again till out-of-town sympathisers lost patience and in-town sympathisers lost their tempers." This, no doubt, was unavoidable, and happened entirely because of Mrs. Pankhurst's detention by the immigration authorities. The meeting was an enthusiastic one, says the same paper, and 2,000 dollars were thrown into the collection baskets.

The *Woman's Journal* (Boston) describes Mrs. Pankhurst's reception at the public dinner given in her honour at the Aldine Club by the Women's Political Union. "The dinner," it says, "which it was feared might need to be one of protest, was immediately changed back into one of welcome and victory. Mrs. Pankhurst was given an ovation, and Aquith, Lloyd George, and Secretary McKenna, when mentioned in her speech, were heartily hissed."



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NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

Miss Alexandra Wright presided at Tuesday's meeting, when Miss Anna Martin, in a most interesting address, gave practical examples from her own experience in South London of the need for the representation of the mother's point of view in government. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, who had come up from Reading by-election, appealed for funds, which resulted in promises of £18. Mrs. Kerr gave an account of the work of the N.C.S. at Bristol.

READING BY-ELECTION

Committee Rooms: 69, London Street

That this election is regarded as crucial by all political parties is shown by the numerous organisations taking part in it. The New Constitutional Society was in the field almost as soon as the election was mooted. Women's Suffrage and our anti-Government policy is everywhere accorded a sympathetic reception. On Saturday night, in St. Mary's Butts, twelve Societies at least competed for the attention of the Reading population. In addition to this the *Daily Mail* was responsible for an exhibition of moving pictures on a large wall space in the middle of the "Butts." As the things displayed had no reference to politics, it is evident that the proprietors of the famous organ were anxious to draw the attention of the people from the things that matter. But notwithstanding the counter attraction of this show, which took place in the immediate vicinity of the N.C.S. platform, we held a magnificent and very sympathetic meeting.

Concert.—This will be held at 143A, Park Mansions Arcade on November 21, at 3 p.m. We appeal earnestly to all members and friends who have not already done so to write immediately to the Secretary for tickets, which may be obtained at 5s. and 2s. 6d.

Christmas Bazaar.—It is hoped that the result of the forthcoming concert and bazaar will add considerably to our funds, and so relieve the Committee of some of the burden of responsibility. Members, please do your utmost to make our sale a great financial success.

FUTURE MEETINGS

Sunday, 9th.—Hyde Park, noon.
Monday, 10th.—Hampstead, 72, Compayne Gardens, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Merivale Mayer. Hostess: Mrs. Garrods.
Tuesday, 11th.—143A, Park Mansions Arcade, 3 p.m. Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss E. S. Roper.

A WOMAN'S SUPPLEMENT

The special supplement of last Saturday's *New Statesman* deals with the woman's movement, and contains some very interesting articles written by representative women. "Motherhood and the State" is dealt with by Lady Betty Balfour, and "Women in Public Administration" by Miss Adelaide Anderson, Chief Inspector of Factories. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman seeks to prove, in another article, that the unrest among women has been caused by the arrest of their development; and B. L. Hutchins touches, among other things, on the problem of married women's work in factories in an interesting article called "The Capitalist versus the Home." Dr. Flora Murray, dealing with "The Position of Women in Medicine and Surgery," tells a good story of the man who brought his wife to the New Hospital for Women for an operation. (She makes the interesting statement, by the way, that the working man likes his wife to be attended by women.) It was pointed out to him that there were good surgeons in the town he came from. "Yes, madam," he replied, "but when it comes to the knife business, give me a lady."

THE ART ANNUAL

Already Christmas is upon us, and one sign of its approach is the annual appearance of the Art Annual (published by Messrs. Virtue and Co., price 2s. 6d. net, or cloth gilt, 5s. net). This year it is entirely devoted to the work of Mr. E. Blair Leighton, thus adding another interesting volume to a series which already includes such names as Sir Luke Fildes, Sir L. Alma Tadema, Mr. Frank Dicksee, and other well-known Academicians. Admirers of Mr. Blair Leighton's pictures will find all the best-known ones in this issue of the Art Annual, which contains over fifty illustrations, many of these being full-page pictures, and six of them coloured plates. The monograph of the painter, by Mr. Alfred Yockney, is comprehensive, and sympathetically written.

COMING EVENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Letchworth on November 19, at Ainsdale on November 27, and at the Hope Hall, Liverpool, on November 28.

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a Public Reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30—6.15. Speakers: Mrs. Conybeare, Sir Thos. Barclay, and others.

There will be an Anniversary Club Dinner at the Suffrage Club to-day (Friday), at 7.30 p.m. There will be an entertainment at 8.30 at which Miss Leah Bateman-Hunter and Mr. Wilfred Bendall have kindly promised to give their services.

The Jewish League announce a lecture by Miss Royden on "The Economic Status of Women," at the Memorial Hall Farringdon Street, on November 10, at 8.30 p.m.

At the International Women's Franchise Club on November 12, at 3.30 p.m., Miss Tite will speak on "The Necessity for Women Police."

The *Daily Herald* League announce a concert and dance at the Horticultural Hall, Vincent Square, on November 15, from 7—12. Tickets: 1s. each, from all Branch Secretaries or from 21, Tudor Street, E.C.

The Actresses' Franchise League will hold a meeting and reception at the Shaftesbury Theatre on November 18, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Professor Bickerton, Rev. L. Donaldson, Mr. Roy Horniman, Mr. Zangwill, and others. Chair: Miss Lena Ashwell. Tickets: A.F.L.

The Women's Tax Resistance League announce a lecture by Miss Katherine Raleigh on "The Worship of Athens," at the Caxton Hall (Room 18) on November 18, at 5.30 p.m. Tickets: Tax Resistance League, 2s. and 1s.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will open a debate at the Willesden Parliament, Kensal Rise Council School, on November 25, at 8.15 p.m.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ST. ANNE'S, SOHO.—A Course of Sermons by The Rev. Dr. W. S. Macgowan on "The Work and Witness of Women" as Interpreters of the Mind of Christ. Sunday evenings at 7. Nov. 9, Florence Nightingale, "Sick, and ye visited Me"; Nov. 16, Josephine Butler, "Naked and ye clothed Me"; Nov. 23, Octavia Hill, "I am among you as He that serveth."

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road.—11, William Peel, "A People's Theatre"; 7, Laurence Housman, "What Sanction has Majority Rule?"

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 11, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlisle.

NEW THOUGHT CHURCH.—11.15, at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street. Speaker: Miss Muriel Brown. 7.15, at 78, Edgware Road.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C. (WEST LONDON MISSION).—Preacher, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m., Rev. J. E. Rattenbury. Morning subject: "The Twelve Apostles," 8 Bartholomew. Evening subject: "Is Jesus Good Enough for the Twentieth Century?" 2. "Can Jesus Solve Problems?" 6.30 to 7 p.m., Musical Service. Soloist, Miss Eva Sparkes; organist, Mr. Frank Idle, A.R.A.M. 3.30, Fellowship. Speaker, Mr. W. E. Gilbert; subject, "Britain's Deadly Enemy"; soloist, Mr. Falkner Lee.

WESTBOURNE PARK CHAPEL (opposite to Royal Oak Station), Porchester Road, W. Dr. J. Clifford, M.A., at 11, Dr. C. H. Watkins at 7.

THEATRES, CONCERTS, &c.

COURT THEATRE, Sloane Square, S.W.—Evenings at 9. Mats. Weds. and Sats. at 3. **MISS HORNIMAN'S COMPANY.** **JANE CLEGG**, a play by St. John B. Ervine. Preceded at 8.15 (Mats. 2.15) by **THE LITTLE STONE HOUSE.** Box-office open 10 to 10. Tel., Gerrard 848.

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A CORRECTION

We regret that in last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN* the account quoted by us of an interview with Miss Holford on the subject of the registration of nurses was inadvertently ascribed to the *Nursing Times*. It appeared in the *British Journal of Nursing*.

AN ATTRACTIVE CATALOGUE

Messrs. Frederick Gorrings' new autumn and winter stock contains, as usual, numberless things one longs to buy. There are many charming evening dresses, at all prices, and specially noticeable also are the blouses and afternoon dresses. Then, of course, there are hats, and furs, and coats and skirts; in fact, everything is of such good quality that it is difficult to know which to mention.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League.
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League.
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association.
C/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage.
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society.
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies.
14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Gymnic Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.
2, Holmby View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage.
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society.
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop.
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance.
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club.
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage.
The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League.
Antient Concert Buildings, St. Branswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League.
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation.
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society.
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage.
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice.
22, South Molton Street, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage.
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Quile Vive Corps.
Duncton, Petworth, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage.
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement.
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights.
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Munster Women's Franchise League.
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society.
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League.
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
11, St. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

People's Suffrage Federation.
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage.
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage.
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League.
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier.
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee.
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies.
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship.
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society.
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League.
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom.
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union.
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League.
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union.
27, Muriello Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League.
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.



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November 25—December 23.

REVOLUTION IN DRESS HANGERS.

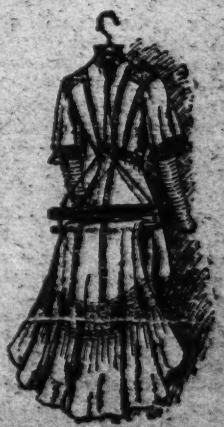


THE NEW "PRINCESS" ADJUSTABLE HANGER

makes it possible to hang up an Empire, Princess, or Evening Dress in any Wardrobe, no matter whether high or low. There can be no crushing or creasing of the dress.

Advantages.—The holder may be attached to any ordinary Coat Holder. No pins are necessary. Being collapsible it takes up very little space, and is convenient for packing.

It is made of highly polished wood with nickel-plated chains and hooks, and costs 2s. 11d., post free, of



THE REGENCY Co. (D^o), Regency House, Warwick St., LONDON, W.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less 2s 1d. per word for every additional word (Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, November 7, 3.30-6.15. Mrs. Oliver Strachey (Chair). Mrs. Conybeare, Miss Edith Palliser, Sir Thomas Barclay.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.—Lecture, "The Worship of Athens" (with lantern illustrations from Greek sculpture and vase-painting), by Miss Katherine Raleigh, at Carlton Hall, Monday, November 10. Chair, Mrs. Marie C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S., &c., at 5.15 p.m. Tickets, 2s. and 1s. The proceeds of the lecture are to be given to the funds of the League.

JEWISH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Lecture at Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, November 10, at 8.30. Miss Maud Royden; chair, The Hon. Mrs. Franklin. "The Economic Status of Women." Tickets, Miss Mildred Marsden, 82, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at Carlton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, November 12, Mr. George Lansbury and Miss Nina Boyle. The Chair will be taken by Miss Eunice Murray at 3.30. Admission free.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE Club, 9, Grafton Street, W. Subscription, £1 1s. Wednesday, November 12, at 8.30, "Club Tea." Hostess: Miss Elkin. Speaker: Miss Tite. Subject: "The Necessity for Women Police."

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.—"At Home," Sunday, November 16, 3.30-5 p.m., Carlton Hall. Speaker, The Rev. Hatty Baker on "Ibsen's Influence on the Woman's Movement." Chair, Mrs. Deepard. Admission free.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with bath and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerard.

BRIGHTON. TITCHFIELD HOUSE. 31, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

COMFORTABLE HOME, in Cambridge, for ladies, with opportunities for advanced instruction in French and German.—Misses Hall and Bloxham, 76, Hills Road.

FOLKESTONE.—Bella—Christa, 14, Castle Hill Avenue. Boarding Establishment; separate table; near Leas, sea, and pleasure gardens.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

LADY, after year's residence, recommends home. Rooms furnished unfurnished. Good cooking; moderate. Bath, h. and c.; garden, tennis. 20 minutes Piccadilly.—Oaklands, Holly Park, Crouch Hill.

LONDON, W.C.—113, Gower Street. Refined home; breakfast, dinner, and full board Sunday; cubicle, 15s. 8d.; rooms, 19s. 6d. to 25s.; gentlemen, 19s. 6d.; bed and breakfast, 3s.

MISS SMITH receives Paying Guests at nominal terms during the winter months. Sunny, dry. Recommended by Suffragists.—Low Green House, Thoraby, Aysgarth, S.O., Yorks.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

LARGE ROOM to let for MEETINGS, &c., 143A, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.—Holds 200. Afternoon, £1 10s.; Evening, £2 2s.—Apply Sec., New Constitutional Society, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for meetings, at homes, dances, lectures (refreshments provided), also homely board residence and furnished apartments.—Dartmouth House, 96, Tulse Hill, S.W.

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ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a specialty.—108, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End Studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

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FRUIT AND POULTRY FARMING.—Instruction given in most up-to-date methods of management and production.—For terms and prospectus apply Miss Bell, Hazeldene, Ightham, Kent.

HAIR SPECIALIST.—G. W. Beckett Chase, 8, Sutherland Avenue, London, W. Consultations by letter. Personally by appointment. Write for booklet of Hair Treatment. Telephone, 2996 Hampstead.

MISS A. PRESTON teaches motor driving, running repairs. Country pupils. Officially recommended by the R.A.C.—2, St. Mary Abbott's Place, Kensington.

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MRS. ELSPETH SPENCER, Architect. Unconventional Houses and Cottages. Furniture and decorations in Suffrage Colours, designed and executed; interviews by appointment.—Studio A, 22, Bloomfield Road, W.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Chalet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Various Forms of Service Open to Members

- 1.—To take VOTES FOR WOMEN each week and read it.
- 2.—To circulate VOTES FOR WOMEN among friends.
- 3.—To sell VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets or by house to house canvass.
- 4.—To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper.
- 5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN.
- 6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of VOTES FOR WOMEN posters.
- 7.—To secure new members for the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.
- 8.—To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes, including the upkeep of the paper.
- 9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name (Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

MADAME DE VALLOISE, Court Milliner, 18, Berners Street, has opened a Renovation Department. Hats and Dresses remodelled to look like new, at reasonable charges.

MADAME FOURNIER, Court Corset and Belt Maker (from Redfern's, Ltd.), will be pleased to fit ladies at their own residences, clubs, &c. Paris models copied, cleaned, and renovated.—96, Tulse Hill, S.W.

MAISON MODERNE.—High-class French dressmaking and tailoring. Expert French cutters and fitters direct from Paris. Special low charges for first order as an inducement. Afternoon dress, £3 3s. 6d. Tailor-made gown, £3 15s. 6d. Blouse, 10s. 6d. Ladies material made up. Orders by correspondence carefully attended to.—70, Fulham Road, S.W. Telephone, 5174 Kensington.

MODERATE ARTISTIC DRESS.—Mora Packe, 399, Oxford Street (opposite "Times" Book Club). Embroidered dresses, coats, and djibbans, Evening Dresses, Tailor-made Coats and Skirts. Prices moderate. Entrance, Gilbert Street.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES.—Latest West End and Paris styles, from 31 guineas. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's)

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LADY CHAUFFEUSE, strongly recommended, experienced driver. R.A.C. certificate, running repairs.—Miss Whittuck, 14, Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square, W.

SECRETARIAL POST required by late Suffrage organiser; four years' reference; earlier experience in lawyer's office; certificated shorthand-typist.—W. B. VORAS FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

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GARDENING PUPILS wanted to train in French and commercial garden (roses a specialty). Prepared for R.H.S. exam. Delicate girls specially cared for. £60 inclusive.—Evelyn Whyte, Roundwood French Garden, Ipswich.

BULBS. Plants for spring bedding, Wallflowers, Silene, Forget-me-nots, &c. Alpine plants, boxes of cut flowers, chrysanthemums, carnations, Lilies, violets, from 1s. 6d. Pruning of fruit trees and roses, also advisory work undertaken.—Miss C. M. Dixon, Elmeroft Nurseries, Edenbridge, Kent.

BUSINESS, Etc.

IF You wish to Remove, Store, or Dispose of anything, send postcard or ring up Gerrard 9188 for The London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C., for price and advice, free of charge. Dry rooms, extensive warehouses.

WANTED. Partner to purchase splendid old-established freehold farm, 220 acres, near Perth, West Australia. Poultry and fruit. Oranges in full bearing already producing 25 per cent. profit on capital. Half share, £750; would suit two ladies. Church, schools, fishing, shooting, golf, tennis, &c.—For particulars, Hutt, 36, Richmond Mansions, S.W.

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A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work, a specialty. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collection; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S LINEN carefully washed and daintily finished by Beaven's Lavender Laundry. A trial solicited. A postcard receives prompt attention.—90, Lavender Road, Clapham Junction.

THE NEW GROSVENOR LAUNDRY, 55, Stratford Road, South Acton, W., undertake Family Work only; flannels washed in distilled water; open air drying ground; highest class hand work at moderate prices. Telephone, 10 Chiswick.

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only permanent cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 3307 Paddington.

ELECTROLYSIS, FACE MASSAGE, and ELECTRICAL HAIR TREATMENT. Special terms to trained Nurses. Skilful instruction given and certificates granted. Highly recommended by the Medical Profession.—Address, Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire Street, Great Portland Street, W.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

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GIVE THE FISHERMEN A CHANCE: FRESH FISH, 4lb. 1s. 6d.; 6lb. 2s.; 9lb. 2s. 6d.; cleaned; carriage paid; lists free.—The Fishermen's Syndicate, No. 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

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PURE CHINA TEA.—Finest imported this year; connoisseurs will appreciate; original Chinese boxes, containing one pound, 2s. 6d. each; postage free.—Li Ling Soo and Co., 22, Philpot Lane, London.

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ATHEENIC UNDERWEAR is All Wool, guaranteed unshrinkable, and gives lasting wear. Write for patterns, and buy direct from the actual makers at first cost.—Dept. S., Atheenic Mills, Hawick, Scotland.

BEFORE BUYING, come and see our Dimoline pianos.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

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BRINSMEAD PIANO, 20 guineas, bargain; Hopkinson, 14 guineas; Broadwood, 12 guineas.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

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HARP, £3. Erard Upright Piano, £10. Broadwood Upright, £10. Bechstein Baby Grand, new last year, half maker's price. Mustel Organ.—MORLEY, 6, Sussex Place, South Kensington.

SPECIAL OFFER TO SUFFRAGISTS.—Jewellery, Silver, Electro Plats, &c., at wholesale prices.—Call or write to A. W. S. Mitchell, Diamond House, 37 and 38, Hatton Garden, E.C. (near Wallis's).

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